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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

## A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION

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## THE FUNCTION OF *AOI* IN THE OXFORD *ROLAND*

FORTUNATELY, it is unnecessary to demonstrate that the enigmatic *aoi* standing opposite so many *laisses* of the Oxford *Roland* was *intentionally* used with these particular *laisses* and *intentionally* omitted otherwise. This selective function of *aoi* was made clear by Mrs. Grace Frank in an article published in 1933,<sup>1</sup> in which she concluded that *aoi* had to do in some way with the musical presentation of the poem, although she was properly careful not to ally herself with any single one of those critics who had previously theorized in detail to this effect.<sup>2</sup>

It will be recalled that also in 1933 Charles Samaran's photographic edition of the Oxford manuscript, put forth the previous year by Count Alexandre de Laborde for the members of the Roxburghe Club of London, was made generally available through reissuance by the Société des Anciens Textes Français. The conclusions set forth by the distinguished paleographer in his study of the manuscript, which constitutes the Introduction to this edition, have seemingly been accepted by most specialists in the field of the Old French epic. M. Samaran opined that *O* was *not* a minstrel's copy.<sup>3</sup> If this be true, then *O* must have been made as a copy of record for the undetermined religious order in whose scriptorium it was presumably produced. Samaran, and others as well, have proven that *O* was not made from dictation, but from another manuscript.<sup>4</sup> Thus *O*, in view of all these considerations, might be presumed to lack notations of interest chiefly to musical accompanists. In any event, musical notations would surely have been expressed in terms sufficiently conventional to enable the copyist of *O* to recognize them for what they were, and in consequence either to omit them or integrate them *carefully* with the proper *laisses*. But the fact is that no medievalist—musicologist or otherwise—has ever been able definitely to identify *aoi*, either as a word or an abbreviation. Therefore we conclude that it is a *special* symbol occurring elsewhere with its present function only in the manuscript—or at most, the manuscript sequence—from which the scribe of *O* made his copy.<sup>5</sup>

Hence we agree with Mrs. Frank that "the question of the exact significance of *aoi* . . . perhaps never will be solved";<sup>6</sup> but we are equally convinced that her demonstration of the occurrence of some sort of interruption in the *laisses* of *O* marked by an *aoi* does not necessarily posit a musical significance for *aoi*, but might on the contrary admit of quite

1. *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 625-639.

2. For the theories of these critics, as set forth by Mrs. Frank, cf. *ibid.*, p. 635.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36.

5. Samaran does not list *aoi* among the items he attributes to a reviser.

6. *Loc. cit.*, p. 35.

a different interpretation. We shall approach the latter by asking this question: how long would it take to chant or recite the 4002 verses of *O*? If we allow five seconds for each verse (twenty seconds are needed to recite four consecutive lines at a moderate pace), some five hours and twenty minutes of constant recitation would be required. Thus it seems quite likely that there were occasions when an abridged version of the *Roland* might have served a useful purpose. For example, if the poem was to be presented for the entertainment of important lay or clerical guests at dinner, it would need to be greatly reduced in length—primarily to save time, and in addition perhaps to excise certain portions suggestive of clerical rivalries or political antipathies, as we shall endeavor presently to show. First we shall indicate that the *laisses* marked with *aoi* not only constitute a fairly coherent and effective continuous narrative, but also reveal that some care was taken by the exciser in causing cuts or retentions of *laisses* in which pagan champions deemed of sufficient importance by the author to be mentioned by name make their respective first appearances to coincide in most cases with the elimination or maintenance of their respective later rôles in the action.

Mrs. Frank based her count of *laisses* on Jenkins' interpretation of the manuscript of *O*,<sup>7</sup> supplemented by her own checking of the latter.<sup>8</sup> Our statistics are different because they are founded on Gustav Gröber's early semi-paleographic edition,<sup>9</sup> controlled by Samaran's photographic reproduction. Here we follow Gröber because he evidently determined the beginning of each *laisse* of *O* in the same way that the copyist of this manuscript presumably did, that is, by the presence of large initial letters or by a space left for the same; whereas most editors have refused to maintain as separate *laisses* manuscript sequences of stanzas on the same assonance.<sup>10</sup> Thus our opinion is that any study of the copyist's actions in classifying the *laisses* of *O* should be based on those actions alone and not on editorial corrections of the same founded on criteria entirely unrelated to the problem of *aoi*. Hence we say the *aoi* is omitted in *O* 117 times at the end of a *laisse*; occurs at that point 166 times, and in the close vicinity thereof, 13 times. It is found twice after a line in the interior of a *laisse*. In these two cases, either the copyist of *O* failed to leave a space for a large initial, or the scribe of the MS being copied had neglected to provide the usual space for such a letter at the points bordering upon verses 806 and 3494, even though there had been no failure to write—and copy—*aoi*. That is to say that at least one of the copyists involved must

7. *La Chanson de Roland, Oxford Version*, ed. by T. Atkinson Jenkins, (2d ed.), Boston, 1929.

8. In this connection she mentions Stengel, *Photographische Wiedergabe der Hs. Digby 23*, Heilbroun, 1878.

9. *La Chanson de Roland d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford* (Bibliotheca Romanica 53, 54), Strasbourg, n.d.

10. Such as Nos. CIX and CX of Gröber, which figure together as CIX in Jenkins' edition and nearly all others.

have believed that new *laissez* began with verses 807 and 3495 respectively, even though there were no changes of assonance at those points.

Some one will inevitably ask why, if *aoi* be a mark of selection, it was placed at the end of a *laisse* instead of being located at its beginning. But the medieval man was not an efficiency expert in the modern sense. Surely the exciser of the *Roland*, in his forthright, unstudied medieval way, would have recorded immediately on finishing the perusal of a *laisse* his decision to retain it, instead of groping his way back to the beginning of that *laisse* in order to set down an *aoi* opposite its first verse.

Let us now examine somewhat in detail the kind of narrative afforded by the sequence of *aoi laissez*s. Straightway we encounter a gain in verisimilitude: *laisse* II (vv. 10-23) has always been criticized for being at variance with *laisse* I, because in II Marsile speaks of Charlemagne as if he were reporting his arrival in Spain, whereas in I the reference to Charles's seven-year sojourn in the Peninsula is stressed by the Moor. Not only would *laisse* II be omitted, but also *laissez* XXVI (vv. 331 ff.) and XXXVI (vv. 485 ff.), both of which contain references to the *bref* which has so often troubled commentators by supplanting the *quant* as a symbol of investiture. Similarly, parallel descriptions give way: back in *laisse* VIII (vv. 96 ff.), Charlemagne takes his ease seated out of doors under a pine tree.

*La siet li reis ki dulce France tient.*<sup>11</sup>

Readers of the poem will recall that in *laisse* XXX (vv. 402 ff.), Marsile is described in almost identical language. Both of these *laissez* are excised, thus doing away also with the frequently criticized agreement between Blancandrin and Ganelon to seek Roland's death (v. 404).

Among the other excised stanzas dealing with Ganelon's embassy to Marsile is the much discussed *laisse* XXXVII (vv. 485-500), which contains the controversial verse 489, as well as a demand here first formulated, and attributed by Ganelon to Charles, to the effect that Marsile's uncle, the Caliph, be delivered over to the Emperor. By omitting this *laisse*, the following, *aoi*-marked one (XXXVIII, vv. 501-511), in which Ganelon and Marsile are reconciled, is rendered far more plausible than before. Another stanza eliminated contains Ganelon's extraordinary eulogy of Charles (XL, vv. 520-536). This excision enhances the effectiveness of the various *aoi laissez*s immediately following. The controversial *laisse* LXI (vv. 766-773), in which reference is made to a bow, is also happily eliminated.

In *laisse* LXIX (vv. 860-873), Marsile's nephew rides forth to make his boast. Later, in *laisse* XCIII (vv. 1188 ff.), he is slain by Roland. Both *laissez* are retained, as are the two<sup>12</sup> dealing with Falseron, who is slain by Oliver; and those presenting Escremiz of Valterne,<sup>13</sup> slain by Engelier.

11. V. 116.

12. LXX, vv. 894-908; XCIV, vv. 1213-1234.

13. LXXV, vv. 931-939; C, vv. 1289-1296.

Thus a unity of selection is apparent in the matter of retention of *laissez* dealing with certain pagan champions. Conversely, various other anti-heroes suffer suppression of their boasts and their battle combats as well. These are Corsablis, Torgis of Turteluse, Chernuble, and Esturgant. While it must be admitted that absolute unity of selection is lacking in the case of Malprimes of Brigal because the first of two references to this pagan is excised, nevertheless the second reference (XCVI, retained) is in no way rendered less effective by the omission of the first. The account of Margarit's death is deleted, but the retention of the gab of this picturesque "lady-killer" (LXXVII) must have been retained because of the considerable comic relief it affords. Two other possible inaccuracies on the part of the apportioner of *aoi*—or, more probably, on the part of the copyist of *O*<sup>14</sup>—should be mentioned: (1) Charlemagne's first vision (LVI, vv. 717-724) is deleted despite later references to it; and (2) the account of the Emperor's return to Roncevaux (CLXXVII, vv. 2246-2258) might well have been retained although its omission is not serious.

For a copyist who has been guilty of the list of sins of omission and commission proven against him by M. Samaran, the number of slips in the use of *aoi* that we have listed seems negligible and in no way inimical to our general hypothesis. And let us keep in mind that *O* is not the original written version. Contemporaries of the recording of this MS might well be deemed already long familiar with the story of Roland. Thus a few mistakes in excision—the case of Alde is also in point—should not be given undue emphasis by opponents of our theory.

Moreover, the extraordinary treatment of various passages containing references to the Archbishop Turpin of Reims remains to be considered here, and constitutes important evidence of systematic expurgation. As everyone knows, Turpin is a featured personage of the poem along with Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver. Jenkins lists, in the glossary-index of his second edition, seventeen passages of the poem dealing with this archbishop militant. Of these all save five are excised! The five surviving references relate: (1) to his presence in Charlemagne's council;<sup>15</sup> (2) to his declaration of intention to join the rear-guard;<sup>16</sup> (3) to his fighting alongside of Roland and Gautier, and his being mortally wounded;<sup>17</sup> (4) to his death and a brief eulogy of him;<sup>18</sup> and (5) to the preparation of his corpse for burial along with those of his companions.<sup>19</sup> In only one of these five retained passages is the Archbishop praised, and only to the extent of a scant two lines, wherein Turpin is designated merely as "l'arcevesque." In order to attempt to explain this wholesale suppression of Turpin as an exalted personage of the Oxford *Roland*, we should not fall into the error

14. Samaran, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

15. XII, v. 170.

16. LXIV, v. 799.

17. CLIV, vv. 2066-2082.

18. CLXVI, vv. 2233-2245.

19. CCXIV, vv. 2961-2973.

of believing that any antireligious attitude was a motivating factor. There are many passages marked with *aoi* which breathe forth religious devotion. There would appear to be another, more reasonable explanation for the excisions under discussion if we hold the fairly common view that the Cluniac monks were mainly responsible for the popularization of the *via tolosana ad Compostellam*, and that publicity concerning the protagonists of the *Roland*, especially Turpin, counted for much in this matter. The explanation, then, would relate to the famous quarrel over investiture that had reached its height in the early years of the twelfth century, and in which the feudal nobility, including the king of France and the bishops—notably the powerful archbishop of Reims—were arrayed against the Holy See. In this connection, it is also well known that the Cistercian order of monks (founded in 1098) strongly disapproved of an alleged laxity of monastic rule exhibited at times by the monks of Cluny, and sought in general to live up to the letter of Benedictine rule.<sup>20</sup> It would appear that the scribe responsible, under our theory, for removing the Turpin stanzas was under anti-Cluny, pro-Cistercian compulsion and was probably loath to exalt any archbishop of Reims because of the ill repute of Manassès I, archbishop of Reims (deposed 1080; died ca. 1100), regarded in his own time as a militant noble turned cleric only for political power, and arrayed against such reforms as those projected by Popes Gregory VII and Urban II. And let us not forget the long-recorded fact that during the early twelfth century there was bad blood also between the austere canons-regular of St. Augustine and the monks—especially those of Cluny—and that the English abbey of Oseney, where *O* is known to have been kept from the early fourteenth century until much later, was an abbey of Augustinian canons.<sup>21</sup>

Thus it is understandable that rivalries and resentments among the clergy might well have caused not only the suppression of *laissez* exalting an archbishop of Reims, but also those stanzas which focus attention on the burial place of the three chief heroes of the poem, Roland, Oliver, and Turpin, at the church of St. Germain of Blaye, and on the high altar of the church of St. Seurin of Bordeaux where the oliphant had been left.<sup>22</sup>

And what of Tuoldus? The final *laisse* comes out, as well as the two which precede it. Whoever Tuoldus may have been, he was deemed

20. Cf. E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, II, ii (Paris, 1901), 260 ff. (We do not subscribe to most of Emile Mireaux's theories as set forth in his *La Chanson de Roland* [Paris, 1943]—although he professes to be a follower of Bédier—because his chronology seems faulty. However, his notions concerning the political importance of the bishops of Laon and Reims during the tenth-century struggle between Carolingians and Capetians are noteworthy; as are also his ideas concerning the respective rôles of Cluny and the Cistercians in connection with middle-twelfth-century development of the *Chanson de Roland*.) L. M. Smith, *Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London, 1930), gives a thorough but somewhat idealized account of the order's activities.

21. Cf. Samaran, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3, on Oseney.

22. CCLXIII, vv. 3684-3699.

unworthy of the accolade of *aoi*. Thus shortened, the poem ends on a stern note which surely must have merited the approval of all feudal moralists, and which for us has always been the real moral of the *Chanson de Roland*:

*Ki hume traist, sei ocit et altroi.*<sup>23</sup>

We believe we have shown the strong probability that *aoi* was used in the *Roland* to designate stanzas chosen to constitute a short version of the poem.

As to the meaning of *aoi*, one can only conjecture. We have already said that it could not have been a conventional symbol. Could it be Old French *ad* + *oi* (<*hodie*), with some such word as *destinée* understood before *ad*? One would wish other examples before deciding. Or could *aoi* be a special abbreviation of some Old Provençal form equating with Catalan *avui*, 'today' (<Lat. *apud hodie*)? But one must first find the Old Provençal form. Or, again, is *aoi* an old Basque word or phrase? Probably not, but the possibility exists. At all events, in the fact of the continued interest of scholars in the solution of *Roland* problems<sup>24</sup> lies the hope that the meaning of *aoi* may one day be explained as plausibly as we have striven in this paper to explain its function.

EDWIN B. PLACE  
Northwestern University

DALAI BRENES  
Roosevelt College

23. *Sic*; scribal *-oi* for *-ui*, written presumably under the influence of following *-oi* of *aoi*.

24. Among the longer studies written on the *C. de R.* during the past decade besides that of Mireaux (cf. *supra*, note 20) are Luigi Foscolo Benedetto's *L'Epopée de Roncisvalle* (Florence, 1941), an anti-Bédier, pro-Fawtier pronouncement (that is, in support of Robert Fawtier's ideas as expressed in his *C. de R., Etude historique* [Paris, 1933]), and André Burger's substantial article "La Légende de Roncevaux avant la *Chanson de Roland*" (*Romania*, LXX [1948-1949], 433-473), which upholds Bédier's theory of monastic origins and argues for an account somewhat hagiographic in nature and originally written in Latin verse.



## THE MIXED METAPHOR IN DESCARTES

FOR DESCARTES, the *certitude* was all: a "croyance" or "persuasion si ferme, qu'elle ne puisse estre ostée." That was the crucial commitment. It was not solely a methodological requisite but a deep, absolute personal requirement. He needed to receive, immediately and irresistibly, a "connaissance intuitive," "une lumière pure, constante, claire, certaine, sans peine, et tousiours presente," "une illustration de l'esprit . . . en la lumière de Dieu . . . par une impression directe de la clarté divine sur nostre entendement."<sup>1</sup> Aspiring to this mode of contentment—to angelism, as Maritain would describe it—Descartes, it is often presumed, did powerfully achieve within himself a sense of utmost assurance. He seems to have set aside, in confident, assertive fashion, all critiques of his philosophy. But, "que peut un homme?" In the privacy of his mind, the question of "certitude," immanent and irreducible, remained in suspense. There, it turned into a psychological rather than a philosophical predicament: to cleave to certainty, to maintain oneself and to dwell in that state of mind.

Many ways of probing Descartes's experience are possible. Few, perhaps, would be more enlightening than a study of his habits of style. An analysis of his complex sentence or of his shifting use of *donec* and *car*, for example, would be revealing. More directly, here, a form of Cartesian metaphoric language will lay open, I believe, an intimate region of the philosopher's mind.

In general, Descartes, who was sensitive to poetry, used figurative language soberly but willingly.<sup>2</sup> His metaphors and similes are numerous enough to attract attention. Many of his comparisons are elaborately balanced, and rounded out in Homeric style. Drawing material from a variety of sources, including the arts, warfare, nature, and dreams, they serve mostly to describe analogically Descartes's method, to illustrate an argument, or simply to highlight a passing comment. Although introduced with simplicity and fitness, and occasionally with impressive ingenuity, those images on the whole retain an obvious and conventional character.

But out of this collection, two images emerge, fraught with significance, and bearing directly on "certitude." One portrays the philosopher-traveler:

1. Letter of March (or April) 1648 (to the Marquis of Newcastle?), in *Œuvres*, Adam and Tannery ed., V, 136, 137. This ed. will henceforth be cited as *AT*, and the Adam and Milhaud ed. of *Descartes's Correspondance* as *AM*.

2. This point still remains to be studied. But see Hartwig Tornau, *Syntaktische und stilistische Studien über Descartes*, Leipzig, A. Hoffmann, 1900, pp. 66-91; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature françaises*, IV (1897), 521-523; Foucher de Careil, *Œuvres inédites de Descartes*, Paris, A. Durand, 1859, pp. cvi-exi; William McC. Stewart, "Descartes and Poetry," *RR*, XXIX (1938), 212-242; Marcel De Corte, "La Dialectique poétique de Descartes," *Archives de Philosophie*, XIII (cahier II, 1937), 101-161.

... ceux qui ne marchent que fort lentement, peuvent avancer beaucoup davantage, s'ils suivent tousiours le droit chemin, que ne font ceux qui courent, et qui s'en esloignent;<sup>3</sup>

and the other a philosopher-architect:

je tâchois partout d'imiter les architectes, qui, pour élever de grands édifices aux lieux où le roc, l'argile, et la terre ferme est couverte de sable et de gravier, creusent premièrement de profondes fosses, et rejettent de là non seulement le gravier, mais tout ce qui se trouve appuyé sur lui, ou qui est mêlé ou confondu ensemble, afin de poser par après leurs fondements sur ... la terre ferme: ... de la même façon j'ai premièrement rejeté comme du sable et du gravier tout ce que j'ai reconnu être douteux et incertain. ...<sup>4</sup>

These images are not sensational flights of the imagination. But it is precisely because they are rather unoriginal, and yet are used incessantly by Descartes, with equal readiness in French and in Latin, like forms of expression indispensable to him, that they assume uncommon significance. These two figures alone occur frequently; they require more space than all the other images together. Of the latter, very few appear more than once or twice, or in more than one work. The architect and the traveler haunt Descartes throughout his career, in his juvenilia, in his letters, in the *Règles pour la direction de l'esprit*, *La Recherche de la vérité*, the *Discours*, the *Méditations*, the *Principes de la philosophie*; and the traveler, at the very end, reappears in *Les Passions de l'âme*. In the *Discours* alone, the architect is seen some ten times, digging, destroying, or building, and the traveler fifteen times, groping for or discovering "le droit chemin." But that is not all. These two figures of speech are like poles of Cartesian style around which gravitate myriads of related expressions. Words like *recherche*, *voie*, *chemin*, *route*, *progrès*; *voyager*, *chercher*, *rencontrer*, *découvrir*, *trouver*; *suivre*, *conduire*; *tomber*, *fuir*, *s'éloigner*, *s'écarter*; *avancer*, *approcher*, *passer par degrés*, *passer plus outre*, *parvenir*, *venir à bout*—and words like *fondements*; *ferme*, *solide*; *renverser*, *ébranler*, *bâtir*, *fonder*, *affermir*, *appuyer*, *élever*—betray a constant mental image of the builder-traveler. Scarcely any of these words, taken separately, would normally be considered a metaphoric expression; each, of course, is in current usage. But here they recur together so persistently, again both in Latin and French, that, along with the true figures of speech of which they are unmistakable echoes, they grow into a language with a ring all its own. Small wonder that after many readings of Descartes, scholars of successive generations, unconsciously no doubt, have made it a practice forever to reconstruct the Cartesian edifice, as they put it, and to retrace, each in turn, the journey—the road—the itinerary of Descartes!

3. *Discours de la méthode*, AT, VI, 2.

4. *Objectiones septimae in Meditationes de prima philosophia cum Notis authoris*, 1642: cf. AT, VII, 536-537. I quote the French translation in Victor Cousin's *Œuvres de Descartes*, 1824-1826, II, 506. Here, and every time a Latin work of Descartes is quoted from a French translation (whether or not authorized by Descartes), I have checked the French against the original.



Why such habits of style rather than others? Because Descartes, in fact, did travel a great deal? Or because, very early, in the Netherlands, he studied military architecture? But he studied drawing at the same time. He studied music, and looked into many sciences. He had intimate knowledge of military life. His career was full of important experiences none of which is very markedly reflected in his style. Why, out of all these experiences and out of the stock of traditional images, did the mind of Descartes fasten upon the figures of the traveler and the architect?

They both appear to symbolize, in identical fashion, Descartes's method. His traveler is one who follows but one road, the only "droit chemin" ("rectum iter") which step by step will lead to the ultimate goal, "un chemin qui nous conduira" to a knowledge of all things.<sup>5</sup> The initial methodological doubt is "une eau profonde . . . J'avoue qu'il y auroit du danger, pour ceux qui ne connoissent pas le gué, de s'y hasarder sans conduite, et que plusieurs s'y sont perdus"; at first, "comme si tout à coup j'estois tombé dans une eau tres-profonde, ie suis tellement surpris, que ie ne puis ny asseurer mes pieds dans le fond, ny nager pour me soutenir au dessus."<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless "ie continuëray tousiours dans ce chemin, jusqu'à ce que j'aye rencontré quelque chose de certain." Some "voyageurs, . . . ayant laissé le grand chemin pour prendre la traverse, demeurent égarés entre des espines et des precipices";<sup>7</sup> for example, certain early theologians who reasoned poorly "s'estoyent détournés du droit chemin, ainsi que font les voyageurs quand quelque sentier les a conduits à des lieux pleins d'épines et inaccessibles."<sup>8</sup> Often, some blindly "per ignotas vias deducant ingenia (conduisent leur esprit par des voies inconnues)" and grope aimlessly about; "nihil prius a recta quaerendae veritatis via nos abducit, quam si non ad hunc finem generalem, sed ad aliquos particulares studia dirigamus (rien ne nous éloigne plus du droit chemin pour la recherche de la vérité, que d'orienter nos études, non vers cette fin générale, mais vers des buts particuliers)."<sup>9</sup> To be sure, "mon esprit" also "se plaist de s'égarer. . . . Relachons-luy donc . . . la bride, afin que, venant cy-apres à la retirer doucement et à propos, nous le puissions plus facilement regler et conduire."<sup>10</sup> I shall go on questioning all my beliefs until I have so trained my judgment that it may never be "détourné du droit chemin qui le peut conduire à la connoissance de la vérité. Car ie suis assuré que cependant il

5. Cf. *Regulae ad directionem ingenii* (ca. 1628?), Georges Le Roy ed., Paris, Boivin, 1932, pp. 12, 13, 14, 15; *Discours*, AT, VI, 2, 3, 63; *La Dioptrique*, AT, VI, 81; *Méditations*, AT, IX, 42 (Latin text, VII, 53).

6. *La Recherche de la vérité*, AT, X, 512 (I follow G. Cantecor, who dates this work between 1620 and 1628); *Méditations*, AT, IX, 18 (Latin text, VII, 24). Using the same image somewhat differently, Descartes explained that, holding back his "Traité de Physique," he proposed "de lui préparer le chemin, et sonder le gué" by first putting out his *Discours* and three appended *Traitez*: cf. his letter (to the abbé de Cerisy?), end of May 1637, AM, I, 356. He would also "sonder" a cardinal on the subject of the earth's motion: letter to Mersenne, Dec. 1640, AT, III, 258.

7. *La Recherche de la vérité*, AT, X, 497.

8. *Responsio ad quartas objectiones*, AT, VII, 253; French text, IX, 195.

9. *Regulae IV* and I, pp. 26, 28, 4, 5. French tr. by Georges Le Roy.

10. *Méditations*, AT, IX, 23 (Latin text, VII, 29-30).

ne peut y avoir de peril ny d'erreur en cette voye. . . .<sup>11</sup> To move along other routes, however arduously and swiftly, is futile:

tout de mesme qu'en voyageant, pendant qu'on tourne le dos au lieu où l'on veut aller, on s'en éloigne d'autant plus qu'on marche plus long-temps et plus viste, en sorte que, bien qu'on soit mis par après dans le droit chemin, on ne peut pas arriver sitost que si on n'avoit point marché auparavant; ainsi, lors qu'on a de mauvais Principes, d'autant qu'on les cultive davantage, et qu'on s'applique avec plus de soin à en tirer diverses consequences, . . . d'autant s'éloigne-t'on davantage de la connoissance de la verité et de la Sagesse.<sup>12</sup>

It is a slow road; "comme un homme qui marche seul et dans les tenebres, ie me resolut d'aller si lentement, et d'user de tant de circonspection en toutes choses, que, si ie n'avançois que fort peu, ie me garderois bien, au moins, de tomber."<sup>13</sup>

These samples, drawn from various French and Latin works, are typical of the whole collection.<sup>14</sup> The "morale provisoire" does warn us that the traveler who hesitates is lost; Descartes, in his actions, would be as resolute as possible,

imitant en cecy les voyageurs qui, se trouvant esgarez en quelque forest, ne doivent pas errer en tournoyant, tantost d'un costé, tantost d'un autre, ny encore moins s'arester en une place, mais marcher tousiours le plus droit qu'ils peuvent vers un mesme costé, . . . car, par ce moyen, s'ils ne vont justement où ils desirrent, ils arriveront au moins à la fin quelque part, où vraysemblablement ils seront mieux que dans le milieu d'une forest.

Yet the same practical wisdom prompts him to choose, from among several accepted opinions, only the most moderate, "affin de me détourner moins du vray chemin, en cas que ie faillisse, que si, ayant choisi l'un des extremes, ç'eust esté l'autre qu'il eust fallu suivre."<sup>15</sup>

Descartes would travel a true, straight, unerring, safe road.

11. *Ibid.*, IX<sup>1</sup>, 17 (Latin text, VII, 22).

12. *Les Principes de la philosophie*, "Lettre de l'auteur à celuy qui a traduit le livre" (1647), AT, IX<sup>2</sup>, 8-9.

13. *Discours*, AT, VI, 2, 16-17.

14. Besides other samples given below, cf. Descartes's *Correspondance*, AM, I, 421; letters to Mersenne (Dec. 24, 1640?), to Princess Elizabeth (Nov. 1643, Aug. 18, 1645, Jan. 12, 1646), to the Marquis of Newcastle (?) (March or April 1648: "vous vous détournez du droit chemin"): AT, III, 266; IV, 46, 272, 357; V, 136, 137. Cf. *Regulae*, pp. 22, 23, 28, 29, 60, 61, 74, 75, 90, 91; *Recherche*, AT, X, 497; *Discours*, AT, VI, 3 (ll. 4-5, 19-20), 4, 8, 9, 10, 14, 19, 28, 59, 63 (ll. 15-17), 71-72; *Méditations*, AT, IX<sup>1</sup>, 50 (Latin text, VII, 63), 59; *Responsio ad secundas objectiones*, AT, VII, 133 (French text, IX<sup>1</sup>, 105); *Principes*, "Lettre de l'auteur," AT, IX<sup>2</sup>, 13-14, 15, 17, 18-19, 20; also, *Principia*, AT, VIII<sup>1</sup>, 5, 14 (*Principes*, AT, IX<sup>3</sup>, 26, 35); *Lettre apologétique aux Magistrats d'Utrecht*, AT, VIII<sup>2</sup>, 223.—Attention has seldom been drawn, and then but cursorily, to the traveler-image in Descartes: cf. Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, p. 522; Tornau, *op. cit.*; Henri Gouhier, *Essais sur Descartes*, Paris, Vrin, 1937, p. 205. For uses of the traveler-image that Descartes could have seen in Seneca and in Francis Bacon, cf. E. Gilson's ed. of the *Discours, texte et commentaire*, Paris, Vrin, 1947 (1st ed., 1925), pp. 84-85; A. Lalande, "Quelques textes de Bacon et de Descartes," *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1911, p. 207.

15. *Discours*, AT, VI, 23-25.

And—he often adds with a touch of pride—he would travel it alone. It is the untrodden way of “un homme qui marche seul.” On the subject of “les passions de l’âme,” “ce que les Anciens en ont enseigné est si peu de chose, . . . que je ne puis avoir aucune espérance d’approcher de la vérité, qu’en m’éloignant des chemins qu’ils ont suivis.”<sup>16</sup> “Viamque sequor ad eas explicandas tam parum tritam, atque ab usu communi tam remotam,” he declares in the Preface to the *Meditationes*, “ut non utile putarim ipsam in gallico . . . docere, ne debiliora etiam ingenia credere possent eam sibi esse ingrediendam.”<sup>17</sup> There are those who should not take to doubting accepted principles: “s’ils avoient une fois pris la liberté de . . . s’écarter du chemin commun, iamais ils ne pourroient tenir le sentier qu’il faut prendre pour aller plus droit, et demeureroient esgarez toute leur vie.”<sup>18</sup> But this version of the traveler-image varies greatly. Good-humoredly poking fun at Ismael Bouillaud, Descartes admits him among those who, trying “des routes nouvelles,” have at least the merit of moving off the main highway, “qui ne conduit nulle part et qui ne sert qu’à fatiguer et égarer ceux qui le suivent.” In a less indulgent mood, he says well-nigh the opposite: “ceux qui s’égarent en affectant de passer par des chemins extraordinaires, me semblent bien moins excusables que ceux qui ne faillent qu’en compagnie et en suivant les traces de beaucoup d’autres.”<sup>19</sup> Now he seems to despise the easy, short, but misleading road of others; then, to stress the simplicity of his own method, he compares it to “planas tantum et faciles vias,” to “un chemin plus facile,” “plus court.”<sup>20</sup>

His references to philosophical method turn as automatically into images of digging and construction. “. . . Toute la connoissance acquise jusques à present,” he early learns to say, is like

quelque maison mal bastie, de qui les fondemens ne sont pas assurés. Je ne sçay point de meilleur moyen pour y remedier, que de la jeter toute par terre, et d’en bastir une nouvelle; . . . pendant que nous travaillerons à cette demolition, nous pourrons, par mesme moyen, creuser les fondemens qui doivent servir à nostre dessein, et preparer les meilleures et plus solides matieres, qui sont necessaires pour les remplir.<sup>21</sup>

16. *Les Passions de l’âme*, AT, XI, 327–328. Cf. *Responsio authoris ad primas objectiones*, VII, 106 (French text, IX<sup>1</sup>, 84), on Descartes’s not following the same road as Aristotle and St. Thomas.

17. AT, VII, 7. “Son dessein étoit de frayer un chemin tout nouveau,” says Adrien Baillet (*La Vie de Monsieur Des-Cartes*, 1691: cf. AT, X, 190), reporting on the *Studium bonae mentis* (a lost fragment which, according to AT, X, 176–177, Descartes may have written between 1619 and 1621, or in 1627–1628); this sentence may be an echo or translation of Descartes’s words.

18. *Discours*, AT, VI, 15.

19. In two letters to Constantin Huygens (March 9, and March or April 1638), AM, II, 167, 171.

20. Cf. *Recherche*, AT, X, 498; *Regulae*, pp. 4, 5; letters to Mersenne (Jan. 1638; May 3, 1638; Oct. 11, 1638), AM, II, 74, 251–252, and III, 84; letter to Elizabeth (Nov. 1643), AT, IV, 38, 40; “Synopsis” at head of *Meditationes*, AT, VII, 12 (French text, IX<sup>1</sup>, 9); *Epistola ad P. Dinet* (1642), AT, VII, 579.

21. *Recherche*, AT, X, 509; cf. also 496: “jeter les premiers fondemens d’une science solide.”

The sensualists have built on sand "au lieu de creuser plus avant, pour trouver du roc ou de l'argile." Moral treatises of antiquity are comparable "à des palais fort superbes et fort magnifiques, qui n'estoient bastis que sur du sable et sur de la bouë. Ils eslevent fort haut les vertus, . . . mais ils n'enseignent pas assez à les connoistre. . . ." Among the moderns, Galileo on the subject of falling bodies "a entièrement bâti en l'air." A theoretician of music "falso fundamento superstruit."<sup>22</sup> This all-important "fondement," Descartes writes to Mersenne, is "ce qui est comme le plus ample et le moins diversifié et qui peut servir de sujet sur lequel on bâtit le reste."<sup>23</sup> And, "suffossis fundamentis, quidquid iis supraedificatum est sponte collabitur"—"la ruine des fondemens entraine necessairement avec soy tout le reste de l'edifice. . . ."<sup>24</sup> Indeed, there are minds so impatient and devoid of care that "mesme ayant des fondemens bien solides, ils ne sçauroient rien bastir d'assuré."<sup>25</sup> But—Descartes likes to repeat this—"tout mon dessein ne tendoit qu'à m'assurer, et à reietter la terre mouvante et le sable, pour trouver le roc ou l'argile."<sup>26</sup> The *Meditationes* open with words expressing the same purpose:

Animadverti jam ante aliquot annos quam multa, ineunte aetate, falsa pro veris admiserim, et quam dubia sint quaecunque istis postea superextruxi, ac proinde funditus omnia semel in vita esse evertenda, atque a primis fundamentis denuo inchoandum, si quid aliquando firmum et mansurum cupiam in scientiis stabilire.<sup>27</sup>

In my youth, says Descartes, I took special delight in the mathematical disciplines "à cause de la certitude et de l'evidence de leurs raisons; . . . et . . . ie m'estonnois de ce que, leurs fondemens estant si fermes et si solides, on n'avoit rien basti dessus de plus relevé."<sup>28</sup>

The architect, like the traveler, keeps an eye on the "morale provisoire"; part III of the *Discours* opens in this vein:

Et enfin, comme ce n'est pas assez, avant de commencer à rebastir le logis où on demeure, que de l'abattre, et de faire provision de materiaux et d'Architectes, ou s'exercer soymesme à l'Architecture, et outre cela d'avoir soigneusement tracé le dessin; mais qu'il faut aussy s'estre pourvû de quelque autre, où on puisse estre logé commodement pendant le tems qu'on y travaillera; ainsi, . . . ie me formay une morale par provision. . . .

But the architect is especially preoccupied with the foundation for his

22. *Ibid.*, p. 513; *Discours*, AT, VI, 7-8; letters to Mersenne (Oct. 11, 1638), AM, III, 83, and to William Boswell (?), (1646?), AT, IV, 686.

23. Dec. 18, 1629, AM, I, 96.

24. *Meditationes*, AT, VII, 18; IX<sup>1</sup>, 14. Rejecting a suggestion that *erutis* would be better than *suffossis*, Descartes defends the latter on the grounds that *erutis* has several meanings while *suffossis* only one (letter to Mersenne [Dec. 24, 1640?], AT, III, 268): he does have in mind an image of undermining. Cf. "sapper les fondemens," *Recherche*, AT, X, 513.

25. Letter-Preface of *Principes*, AT, IX<sup>2</sup>, 19.

26. *Discours*, AT, VI, 29.

27. AT, VII, 17 (French text, IX<sup>1</sup>, 13).

28. *Discours*, AT, VI, 7.

new abode.<sup>29</sup> Often, in this mood, he does not appear to raise his work above the surface; he seems to remain below, persistently digging for a rock bottom.

Descartes would build on a firm, solid, secure foundation.

And again the image takes on at times another nuance—a tinge of haughty independence—especially where the architect finally raises his work upward. He would erect a completely original edifice; “car je ne veux pas estre de ces petits artisans, qui ne s’employent qu’à raccommorder les vieux ouvrages.”<sup>30</sup> Of course, the débris of old beliefs need not all be thrown away, “comme en abattant un vieux logis, on en reserve ordinairement les demolitions, pour servir à en bastir un nouveau. . . .”<sup>31</sup> But “mon dessein,” as he defines it again, is “de bastir dans un fons qui est tout à moy.”<sup>32</sup> The opening paragraph of part II of the *Discours* is well known: too many cooks spoil the broth or, in architectural terms,

Ainsi voit on que les bastimens qu’un seul Architecte a entrepris et achevez, ont coutume d’estre plus beaux et mieux ordonnez, que ceux que plusieurs ont tasché de raccommorder, en faisant servir de vieilles murailles qui avoient esté basties à d’autres fins.

A straight road for the traveler—a solid foundation for the architect—for Descartes, a method true and “assurée.” Such then is the apparent symbolism; set off occasionally by declarations of self-sufficiency and supremacy, it would seem to proclaim that Descartes had attained “certitude” to his own satisfaction.

And yet all seems left in suspense. The metaphoric routine appears indecisive and ambiguous. The architect and the traveler at times appear to be held back, to pause. The latter, for example, would proceed slowly and with circumspection, so as not to fall; would adhere only to the mean “affin de me détourner moins du vray chemin en cas que ie faillisse”; would learn to distinguish “le vray d’avec le faux,” so as to walk “avec assurance” (part I of the *Discours*). When the voyager in Descartes speaks, often the route he invokes is a road to be sought, or a way not to be forsaken or lost; it is also a road by which he would move out of “les ténèbres” into “la lumière.” The architect is concerned. If Galileo’s description of the earth’s motion is fallacious, he writes to Mersenne in 1633, “tous les fondements de ma philosophie le sont aussi.” He watches over those foundations. One might almost say that he stands guard over them rather

29. For other samples, cf. letters to Mersenne (May 10, 1632), *AM*, I, 225; to Regius (March 1642), *AT*, III, 537; to Elizabeth (Sept. 1646), *AT*, IV, 486; *Discours*, *AT*, VI, 9, 31, 32; *Responsiones* to the second, third, fourth *Objectiones*, *AT*, VII, 144, 151, 172, 247 (French text, IX<sup>1</sup>, 113, 118, 133, 191).—Gustave Cohen has noticed the great number of architect-metaphors, but only in the *Discours: Ecrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, E. Champion, 1920, pp. 381–382.

30. *Recherche*, *AT*, X, 509.

31. *Discours*, *AT*, VI, 29.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 15; also pp. 13–14. Cf. letters to Mersenne (April 15, 1630; March 31, 1638), *AM*, I, 130; II, 214; *Epistola ad P. Dinet*, *AT*, VII, 597.

anxiously when defending his *Meditationes* against the objections of Arnauld, a critic to be reckoned with: when Arnauld, using Descartes's language, warns him that a statement of his "fundamenta convellit," Descartes retorts: "Neque hoc ulla ratione fundamenta mea convellit"; and when Arnauld briefly remarks that other Cartesian notions "corruunt," Descartes snaps back, with considerable agitation and insistence: "nec corruere, nec ullo modo concuti vel infirmari, mihi videtur."<sup>33</sup> Why deny here with such excessive imagination, and so much emphasis, that foundations and structures will quake and cave in? Where Arnauld merely used a phrase Descartes, one feels, saw and heard the crash.

A more playful critic, the Jesuit Bourdin, in the seventh *Objectiones* to the *Meditationes*, maliciously inflated the traveler-metaphor into a drawn-out allegory. For pages and pages he twits Descartes, playing the role of a willing disciple who endeavors, but in vain, to follow in the footsteps of the great traveler-explorer-guide. He is forever putting one foot forward, and then withdrawing it, finding no solid argument to step on. They go off in every direction, "per avia et invia," at every turn losing their way and trying still another "via." But no road leads anywhere. And for all that, answering the satirist indirectly in a letter to the Jesuit Dinet, obstinate Descartes set his belabored voyager on his two feet and sent him off on his perennial journey again.<sup>34</sup> Far from having missed the jest, which was all too obvious, he was hurt to the quick, as is plain enough in this letter and especially in his very lengthy "Notae" of the same year, written in direct reply to the *Objectiones*. Here, he matched Père Bourdin's mock-voyage with a counter-farce. The tables are turned, the roles completely reversed. The master, competent and skilled, knows what he is about, and it is now the heckler who is made to appear ridiculous; and most significantly, the case is all restated in the language of the building craft! The blundering explorer is transformed into an expert architect, and the disappointed companion into an envious, stupid, fatuous mason who presumes to criticize his master in public, and who would expose his new method as sheer mania for digging. Page after page he mocks the would-be master-builder who dreads sandy soil and, in terror lest the earth crack open or shake under his feet, perpetually burrows down for solid rocky ground, and is never really ready or able to erect any structure over foundations that are but empty ditches. This elaborate twenty-

33. *Objectiones quartae* and *Responsio*, AT, VII, 207, 213, 235, 244. Cf. the French translation authorized by Descartes, where his answers seem even more interesting: Arnauld's "convellit" becomes "répugne," yet Descartes's "convellit" remains *renversé*; Arnauld's "corruunt" becomes "se détruit de soy-mesme," to which Descartes still replies with *renversé*, *affaibly*, *ébranlé* (IX<sup>1</sup>, 162, 166, 182, 188).

34. *Objectiones septimae*, AT, VII, 467 ff.; *Epistola ad P. Dinet*, *ibid.* Bourdin even mocks Descartes's "vadum" ("gué"): p. 531.—Already in 1638, the mathematician Fermat seems inclined to mock the road-system; he suggests that his own methods may have appeared too easy to Descartes, "qui a fait tant de chemin et a pris une voie si pénible . . . dans sa Géométrie": letter to Mersenne, *Œuvres de Fermat*, Tannery-Henry ed., 1891-1922, II, 133. Descartes retorted: AM, II, 264-265.



five-page Cartesian joke, all in constructional-architectural parlance, deserves to be better known. It underscores the kinship between Descartes's two symbols: to contrast the traveler's distorted features with his true likeness, his caricature is held up against the portrait of the architect. Here also we perceive how this metaphoric language came ready to Descartes's mind; he spins it out interminably. But the strange fantasy is not all lightness and fun. Although the point of the counter-parody is evident, Descartes burdens it with a running commentary, as if to crush this impertinent mason who is but a creation of his imagination; it is manifest, he argues for example, "*aedificium ita in altum sustulisse, ut nullam ruinam minaretur; et denique, non ex nihilo, sed ex solidissima materia, non nihil, sed firmum et duraturum sacellum, in honorem Dei construxisse.*" The whole piece is replete with architectural images expressing hesitation, uncertainty, destruction and the like; these, of course, are calculated to sound grotesque and alien to Cartesianism; they are fabrications of an ignorant fool, and irony suggests that the very opposite is true; and indeed Cartesianism, as a set of declared principles and enterprises determinedly carried through, would roundly give them the lie; but they do not do the architect himself too great an injustice; they rather help one to grasp his special, complex role in the Cartesian strategy, for they echo, in derision, a style that he is wont to use in earnest. The jest comes close to turning into a "*rire jaune.*" Conceived as an act of playful self-disfiguration, it grows to sound like ambiguous self-mimicry.<sup>35</sup>

The body of metaphors seen as a whole tells the story more plainly, and in large. Irresponsible debater though he was, may not Bourdin have been right? If I may judge by your voice and your expression, he said, you who charter the course and offer to lead others, you are not yourself exempt from fear.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, what ails a thinker who, from his twenties up to his fifties, needs must play, at every point of his career, the part of a traveler-architect, and whose thoughts all the while are full of "*chemins détournés*" and "*fondements ébranlés*"? Why are images of mud, sand, loose foundations, tottering structures, or of straying, groping, falling and drowning voyagers, so familiar to his mind? Why, all along, does he also need to evoke so often the *firm* foundation and the *straight* road? By the very pressure of its persistence and repetitiveness, his figurative language, like a form of subconscious resistance, betrays—although it would deny—the pressure of an uncertainty that remains to be dealt with. Rationally, he may in good faith have thrust back all possible mental qualms, but a sense of insecurity obstinately abides, in regions where argument does not reach it. Beyond middle age, the philosopher is still rehearsing the two selfsame metaphors, as if by an old private ritual conjuring and warding off incertitude. And young or old, reciting those formulas as by rote, Descartes does it almost always on identical occasions:

35. *AT*, VII, 536–561. (Bourdin also used, but very incidentally, the architectural style to criticize Descartes: *e.g.*, *AT*, VII, 530.)

36. *Op. cit.*, p. 472.

when questions of method arise—irrepressible questions, which spring up anywhere but especially at the beginning of each of his philosophical works, and at the head of various chapters—at those points, that is, where Descartes launches new enterprises in which his method will be at stake.

"Je m'imagine," says Paul Valéry,

qu'il n'est pas à son aise en certaines matières. Il en raisonne très longuement; il revient sur ses pas; il se défait comme il peut des objections. J'ai l'impression qu'il se sent alors éloigné de son vœu, infidèle à soi-même, et qu'il se croit obligé de penser contre le cœur de son esprit.<sup>37</sup>

Symptoms of anxiety, uncertainty, and impatience have on occasion been detected by others such as Léon Brunschvicg, Gilbert Gadoffre, Maxime Le Roy, G. Cantecor; even in the studies of Henri Gouhier, who sees in the author of the *Discours* a "philosophe content . . . de sa philosophie et surtout de la méthode . . .," there are abundant hints of a Cartesian "inquiétude."<sup>38</sup> That uneasiness, I believe, is what the Cartesian metaphors bespeak, more patently perhaps than biographic data on Descartes's wanderlust or his elusiveness. Descartes may well have learned to brook uncertainty, live with it, and keep it under control, in a sort of *modus vivendi* allowing his rational being a wide scope of its own, a sort of "jeu à part," in Montaigne's language. The traveler and the architect, whom we can picture as guards enforcing this settlement, do appear with lesser frequency in the later than in the earlier works: with time they may have acquired greater experience in quelling uncertainty. But it does not appear that they ever quashed it.

His very method of rational inquiry, in its "jeu à part," one is tempted to argue, may not have afforded him a sense of complete security. He found himself obliged frequently to defend and at times to restate or alter his position somewhat. That, however, is rather beside the point, for his philosophy may have failed thoroughly to counteract his feeling of uncertainty, but did not occasion it. Uncertainty, subconscious and unrational, preceded the full-grown philosophic system. It was already present, on the memorable night of November 10, 1619, in those dreams which seemed to prophesy his mission. In a first dream, he saw himself painfully trying to walk; "il était obligé de se renverser sur le côté gauche pour pouvoir avancer au lieu où il voulait aller, parce qu'il sentait une grande faiblesse au côté droit, dont il ne pouvait se soutenir. Etant honteux de marcher de la sorte, il fit un effort pour se redresser." A fierce wind made him spin about. Dragging on, almost falling at every step, he finally tried to make for the church of a collège "ouvert sur son chemin." Others, he noticed on the way, "étaient droits et fermes sur leurs pieds: quoiqu'il fût toujours courbé et chancelant sur le même terrain." Here, on a nightmare-road of torture—and of sin, perhaps—is a paralyzed traveler for whom

37. *Revue de Morale et de Métaphysique*, XLIV (1937), 706.

38. Cf. *Essais sur Descartes*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1937, *passim*.



Descartes, during a lifetime, will seek "le droit chemin." Here also looms a structure, toward which he strains but which he does not reach. And here, already, is some of the basic vocabulary of Descartes's future metaphors. In another dream, Descartes suddenly finds a dictionary and an anthology of Latin poetry, which he later will interpret as symbols of Universal Science and Wisdom; as he opens the latter, he immediately comes upon the first line of an idyll of Ausonius: *Quod vitae sectabor iter?*<sup>39</sup> (What road shall I follow in life?) None! Ausonius had answered. The poem, not a cheerful one, ends on this note: "all paths lead to unhappy ends . . . it is good for a man not to be born at all or, if born, to die promptly." When we consider that it was a poem of this nature that inhabited the young man's mind and, emerging in a dream, obtruded itself upon exultant visions of the future, the underlying nature and inverted meaning of all the road metaphors that will recur for thirty more years grow clear. Six months before the dreams, Descartes had already written in Latin to his friend Beeckman: "Do not expect me to do more writing. I am making ready to set out on the road tomorrow, and already, in spirit, I am on my way. *Adhuc incertus sum* . . ." (I am still uncertain) as Vergil says "... *quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur*" (where fate may take me, where it may be granted me to stop).<sup>40</sup>

A complete account of the dreams, impossible here, would also show traces of a preoccupation with sin and religion: the striving toward a church, for example. In his two metaphors, which describe a method not concerned with faith, revelation, or theology, Descartes retained evident strains of religiosity, such as the architect's constant refrain: "Not on sand, but on solid rock." One cannot but be reminded of the wise man in the Gospels whose house "was founded upon a rock" and the foolish man who "built his house upon the sand." Similarly, "le droit chemin," "le bon chemin" that will not lead us astray, in its many variations often reminds one of Scriptural language. Was this religious tone unconsciously borrowed to invest the architect and traveler with greater authority?

They were important mouthpieces, who in every way were in need of authority. Certitude was their pressing message, which they urgently reiterated because there was, in Descartes, an indigenous uncertainty still to be muffled. They resorted to what may be called a language of mixed metaphor. In a technical sense, the two images are not mixed or confused: the traveler does not build or dig on the run, nor evidently does the archi-

39. *Olympica*, as reported by Baillet, *op. cit.*: cf. *AT*, X, 181 ff. The original MS is missing, but the editors argue that Baillet's report is trustworthy (p. 175): "il ne semble pas avoir rien inventé." Most scholars follow this view.

40. *AM*, I, 13. The full context of this line of the *Aeneid* which had remained in Descartes's memory shows an interesting construction-voyage mixture: "classemque sub ipsa/Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae/incerti, quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur."—In the *Compendium musicae* of 1618, Descartes had also written: "Iamque terram video, festino ad littus," (*AT*, X, 140).—Twenty-five years later, another Vergilian line that Descartes still remembers is: "Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes" (*Epistola ad G. Voetium*, *AT*, VIII, 31).

tect.<sup>41</sup> But each figure viewed separately is itself a mixture of conflicting poses blurred together, a portrait of assurance overlying uncertainty. And the two metaphors viewed jointly appear mixed in the mind of Descartes, if not confused on paper. The architect and the traveler, intent on identical problems, are interchangeable portraits of the philosopher. Thus, the 1637 *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la vérité* in 1636 was planned to be "Le Projet d'une science universelle qui puisse élever notre nature à son plus haut degré de perfection." And yet, though speaking to the same point, they are not a pair, but figures engaged in contrary activities. The one—always pressing forward—drives on, pulls ahead, explores without end. The other—in order to build upward—digs in, and stays on the spot, upon a rock that is immovable. The cumulative impression they create is that they are essentially unblended, and in conflict. We see unfold a complex mixed image, in which the overall construction of immobility-versus-motion is itself a configuration of tension, and in which each of the mixed parts is an intimation of the same tension—a tension between uncertainty and assurance.

Thus it seems to have been with Descartes. He could reach out for utmost certitude, but withal could not outgrow a native uncertainty. And if one of his stature could not, then "que peut un homme?" Are "certitude" and "incertitude" polar opposites or twin states of the human mind?

NATHAN EDELMAN

Columbia University

41. On occasion, the two images appear together in the same development, but rather as consecutive statements of the same point; e.g., *Recherche*, AT, X, 496; *Discours*, AT, VI, 14; letter to Mersenne (Oct. 11, 1638), AM, III, 77-78.

## A PRECURSOR OF RENÉ: LE BARON DE SAINT-CASTIN

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THE QUESTION naturally arises when examining the American novels of Chateaubriand: what parts of the stories are the product of invention by the author and what parts are merely imitation of predecessors? The examination of this question has brought forth a great many possible *sources d'inspiration*. Probably the most curious of these is the story of the Frenchman Saint-Castin, called Célario by the Indians, who falls in love with an Indian girl, Azakia. Fernand Baldensperger and J.-M. Carré were the first to discover this anecdote, about which they published an article in 1913, "La Première Histoire indienne de Chateaubriand et sa source américaine."<sup>1</sup> This "American source" was a poem published in 1790 by a Mrs. Morton of Boston, *Ouabi, or the Virtues of Nature, an Indian Tale*. The hero of the poem, Célario, loves Azakia, wife of Ouabi. Célario is received into the tribe as a brother. He is later wounded while taking part in one of the Indian wars and brought back to the village to be cared for by Azakia. Meanwhile Ouabi is obliged to return to the battle, thus leaving the two lovers alone. Azakia wishes to remain faithful to her husband and so she tries to interest Célario in the young Indian Zisma. When the Indians return from the battle, Ouabi is not among them, having been made prisoner and no doubt killed. According to the Indian superstition, when Azakia dreams of her dead husband she must prepare to follow him. Célario believes however that Ouabi may not be dead. He starts out for the enemy village; there he discovers Ouabi and succeeds in saving him. Ouabi, having discovered the love between Azakia and Célario, abandons his wife to the European and consoles himself with Zisma.

The "première histoire indienne de Chateaubriand," or what the authors of the article had considered such, was a story published first in the *Bibliothèque Britannique* of Geneva in 1798, *Azakia et Célario*.<sup>2</sup> The story is quite similar, differing in only a few details. Azakia does not declare her love immediately as she does in the poem by Mrs. Morton; Ouabi has become an old man; the superstition of the dreams is omitted; and Zisma does not appear. Finally, Ouabi is rescued too late and dies of the tortures inflicted upon him. The critics had attributed this story to Chateaubriand by both external and internal evidence. Chateaubriand's friend Fontanes had relatives at Geneva and knew some of the editors of the *Bibliothèque*.

1. *Modern Language Review*, VII (January, 1913), 15-26.

2. *Azakia et Célario* was republished twice in 1798, first in the *Spectateur du Nord* at Hamburg, whose editors were also known to Fontanes, and then in the *Paris pendant l'année*. The Geneva and Hamburg versions carry the note: "Le fond de ce conte est tiré d'un poème anglais imprimé à Boston, sous le titre *The Virtues of Nature*" (*Bibliothèque Britannique*, VIII, 95; *Spectateur du Nord*, VII, 153).

Moreover, the style is similar to that of Chateaubriand and some of the incidents seem to recall Chateaubriand's experiences in England.

Gilbert Chinard discussed the same problem in his *Exotisme américain*.<sup>3</sup> He rejected Baldensperger and Carré's hypothesis that it was a work by Chateaubriand. He contended that *Azakia et Célario* consisted only of banalities; moreover the descriptions were clumsy and the scenes lacking in exoticism. Professor Chinard attempted nevertheless to discover the sources of this tale. He found that Saint-Castin<sup>4</sup> had actually existed. Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie, baron de Saint-Castin, had come to America a young man in 1670. He was to remain in the New World for thirty years. He lived with the Indians, marrying one or possibly two Indian wives, and waging war with the Indians against the English. He did not return to France until the end of 1701; there he died in 1707 at Pau.<sup>5</sup> This man's adventures became legend. He is mentioned in many local histories; a town still bears his name, Castine, Maine; Longfellow was to use his exploits as the subject of one of his poems.<sup>6</sup> In 1789 a story was published with Saint-Castin as the hero:

C'est en 1789 qu'un magazine américain, l'*American Museum*, fondé par Mathew Carey publia une histoire étrange qui me parait en grande partie traduite du français mais dont je n'ai pu retrouver l'original, intitulée *Azakia, a Canadian Story*.<sup>7</sup>

This passage indicated the possible existence of a French work which would be the source of the *American Museum's* story. This source does exist: *Azakia, anecdotes huronnes*. This story by Nicolas Bricaire de La Dixmérie is one of several published as *Contes philosophiques et moraux, par M. de La Dixmérie . . . —A Londres et se trouvent à Paris, chez Duchesne, 1765. 2 vol. in-12*.<sup>8</sup> This version, then, was published twenty-four years before that of the *American Museum*. The work apparently enjoyed at least a certain amount of success because a second edition was published the following year in London, and a third edition at Avignon the same year. A detailed comparison of these two versions indicates that the American work is only a more or less faithful translation of the French story. There are certain obscure passages and some mistakes in translation. In one passage, for example, the author is completely in error:

Il est certain que cette jeune sauvage It is certain that this young savage  
aimoit son hôte, & l'aimoit d'un amour loved her guest, and loved him with a  
purement métaphysique, sans pourtant love purely ideal, without doubting that

3. *L'Exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand*, Paris, Hachette, 1918.

4. Throughout we have used the most generally accepted spelling of this name. There are many variants: Saint-Castins, Saint-Castine, and even Castainville.

5. For a complete history of the life of Saint-Castin among the Indians, cf. Robert Le Blant, *Une Figure légendaire de l'histoire arcadienne: Le Baron de St-Castin*, Dax, Predeu, n.d., or Pierre Davrault, *Le Baron de Saint-Castin*, Montreal, A.C.F., n.d.

6. "The Student's Second Tale: The Baron of St. Castine," in *Tales of a Wayside Inn*.

7. Chinard, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

8. The discovery of this text is due to Professor Daniel Mornet.

se douter de ce que c'étoit qu'un pareil amour. Elle prit même une résolution que nos Métaphysiciennes, dans ce genre, ne prendroient certainement pas. . . .<sup>9</sup>

it was such a love. She even took a resolution, which others, who loved as she did, would have not have [*sic*] taken. . . .<sup>10</sup>

But aside from these few mistakes in translating, every detail of the action is the same; there is no adaptation, as is shown by a comparison of the beginnings of the two versions:

Les anciens Habitans du Canada furent tous sauvages, & l'étoient dans toute la rigueur du terme. Rien ne le prouve mieux que la destinée de certains François qui abordèrent les premiers dans cette partie du nouveau Monde. Ils furent mangés par ces hommes qu'ils prétendoient humaniser & polir.

The ancient inhabitants of Canada were, strictly speaking, all savages. Nothing proves this better than the destiny of some Frenchmen, who first arrived in this part of the world. They were eaten by the people whom they pretended to humanize and polish.

De nouvelles tentatives eurent un succès plus heureux. On repoussa les Sauvages dans l'intérieur du continent: on conclut avec eux des traités de paix, toujours mal observés: on fit naître chez eux des besoins qui leur rendirent notre joug nécessaire. Notre eau-de-vie, notre tabac firent sans peine ce que nos armes eussent opéré plus difficilement. Bientôt la confiance devint réciproque, & les forêts du Canada furent aussi librement fréquentées par leurs nouveaux hôtes, que par ceux qu'elles avoient vu naître.<sup>11</sup>

New attempts were more successful. The savages were driven into the inner parts of the continent; treaties of peace, always ill observed, were concluded with them; but the French found means to create in them wants, which made their yoke necessary to them. Their brandy and tobacco easily effected what their arms might have operated with greater difficulty. Confidence soon became mutual, and the forests of Canada were frequented with as much freedom by the new inmates, as by the natives.<sup>12</sup>

This story by Bricaire de La Dixmérie seems to have certain resemblances with the American novels of Chateaubriand, which suggests that possibly the author of *Atala* might have known *Azakia*<sup>13</sup> and have remembered it in composing his own novels. It may be profitable then to examine in greater detail the action of *Azakia*, pointing out, when possible, the similarities with *Atala*, *René*, and *Les Natchez*.

First, the central theme of *Azakia*, the loves of a Frenchman and an Indian, is the same as in *René*. The short introduction already quoted prepares the scene. The author then comes to the particular incident that he wishes to describe. An Indian girl, of the Huron tribe, is wandering in the forest when she is captured by a French soldier who tries to take

9. Nicolas Bricaire de La Dixmérie, *Contes philosophiques et moraux*, London, 1765, II, 198.

10. "Azakia, a Canadian Story," *The American Museum, or Universal Magazine*, VI (September, 1789), 196.

11. Bricaire, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

12. *American Museum, op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

13. It is also possible that Chateaubriand may have known one of the other versions of the story.

liberties with her. But the girl's cries attract an officer, Saint-Castin, who sends away the soldier.

Mais celle qu'il venoit de secourir avoit tant de charmes, que [le soldat] lui parut excusable. Il fut lui-même tenté d'exiger le salaire de sa démarche. Il s'y prit d'une manière plus engageante que son devancier, & ne réussit pas mieux.<sup>14</sup>

The Indian replies with a formula which indicates she is married: "L'ami qui est devant mes yeux m'empêche de te voir. . ."<sup>15</sup> Saint-Castin then accompanies the girl back to her village. However, some time after, this same Saint-Castin is insulted by a fellow officer. A duel follows in which Saint-Castin kills his adversary. Since the dead man was the nephew of the Governor General, Saint-Castin is obliged to flee. The other officers imagine that he will seek refuge with the English at New York, but actually he returns to the forest to rejoin the Indians. He acts thus like Chactas and like René: he withdraws from civilization by preference. And like René, he wishes to take part in the life of the Indians: "Saint-Castins lui déclara qu'il vouloit absolument vivre comme eux, c'est-à-dire, partager leurs travaux, leurs guerres, leurs usages; en un mot, devenir Huron. . ."<sup>16</sup> Finally, the reception of the Frenchman by Ouabi is comparable to that of René by Chactas:

Le Grand-Esprit soit loué, de t'avoir conduit parmi nous, reprit le Huron! Ce corps, ajouta-t-il, en portant la main sur son estomach, ce corps te servira de barrière, & ce casse-tête écartera, ou terrassera tes ennemis. Ma cabane sera la tienne: tu verras journellement le grand Astre reparoitre & nous quitter, sans que rien te manque ni puisse te nuire.<sup>17</sup>

At the time when Saint-Castin, newly baptized Célario by the Indians, becomes a member of the tribe, a war is taking place between the Hurons and the Iroquois. Célario leaves for the battle but returns wounded. In the Indian village Azakia cares for him just as Céluta cares for René. Célario left alone with Azakia falls in love with her, not without a certain feeling of shame, however: "Un seul point dérangeoit un peu ses vues: c'étoit les services & les attentions d'Ouabi. Pouvoit-il le tromper, sans joindre l'ingratitude à la perfidie?"<sup>18</sup> But Azakia refuses his advances, and Célario shows sentiments comparable to those of René: "Il n'osoit presque plus insister, & tomba dans une triste rêverie."<sup>19</sup> Of course, melancholy does not begin to play the part in this story that it does with Chateaubriand, but the sentiment is nevertheless the same. Finally, refusing Célario, Azakia speaks of the Indian marriage ceremonies:

14. Bricaire, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 194.



Arrête! . . . arrête, lui dit Azakia; les tronçons de la baguette que j'ai rompu[e] avec Ouabi n'ont pas encore été réduits en cendres. Une partie reste encore en son pouvoir, & l'autre au mien. Tant qu'ils subsisteront, je suis à lui & ne puis être à toi.<sup>20</sup>

This description contains the same elements as are found in Chateaubriand's *Voyage en Amérique*, where, speaking of the customs of the savages, he describes the marriage ceremonies:

Les deux époux enfermés dans le double cercle des douze parents ayant déclaré qu'ils veulent s'unir, le plus vieux parent prend le roseau de six pieds; il le sépare en douze morceaux, lesquels il distribue aux douze témoins: chaque témoin est obligé de représenter sa portion de roseau pour être réduite en cendre si les époux demandent un jour le divorce.<sup>21</sup>

Because of his love for Azakia, Célario decides to leave the tribe. When Ouabi asks him for his reason, Célario cannot tell it and is obliged to stay. Meanwhile a new expedition against the Iroquois is being prepared, as revealed by Ouabi:

. . . Demain je pars pour une expédition contre les *Iroquois*, & ce soir je donne à nos Guerriers le repas d'usage. Prends part à cet amusement, mon cher Célario. . . J'en veux prendre également à vos périls & à vos travaux, interrompt Saint-Castins; je suis de cette nouvelle expédition.<sup>22</sup>

Here is another similarity: like René, Célario wants to take part in an expedition. But since he has not completely recovered from his injuries, Ouabi insists that he remain in the village. Azakia is worried by this intimacy forced upon her and Célario by the departure of Ouabi; at the same time she wants Célario to be happy. She solves the problem by finding a new companion for the Frenchman, the Indian girl Zisma:

Elle n'avoit que dix-huit ans, étoit très belle, &, ce qui ne devenoit pas moins nécessaire, étoit encoer fille. J'ai déjà dit que, chez ces Nations, une fille jouit de la plus grande liberté. . . Au bout de quelques jours, [Célario] put lire dans ses yeux qu'elle seroit moins sévère que son amie. On ne dit point s'il profita de la découverte. . .<sup>23</sup>

This rival plays the part in Bricaire de La Dixmérie's story that Céluta does in *Les Natchez*. She is simply the companion who cannot be loved, in the case of René because he is unable to love, and in the case of Célario because Azakia occupies all his thoughts.

The new expedition against the Iroquois has failed. The Hurons have been caught in an ambush, and Ouabi is not one of those returning. Since the Iroquois always kill their captives, it is assumed that Ouabi is dead. One day Célario discovers Azakia preparing to poison herself. She has just dreamed of Ouabi, and according to the Indian custom she must follow him:

20. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

21. *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Garnier, n.d., VI, 116.

22. Bricaire, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

Si, dans l'espace de quarante jours, une Veuve, qui vient de perdre son époux, le voit & lui parle en songe deux fois de suite, elle en infère qu'il a besoin d'elle dans le pays des Âmes, & rien ne peut la dispenser de se donner la mort.<sup>24</sup>

It is natural to compare this scene with the death of Atala. Chateaubriand's heroine ready to kill herself is in much the same situation as Azakia. The supposed widow of Ouabi must, according to her religion, kill herself, while her love for Célario combats this order. The reader realizes that this dilemma is unnecessary because Azakia's religion is only superstition. The same situation occurs in *Atala*. The heroine is forced by her religion to sacrifice her love. The reader learns later that this sacrifice was as unnecessary as Azakia's would have been.

But until now Azakia has had only the first dream. Célario tries to reason with her, but to no avail. He succeeds only in making her promise that she will not take the poison before his return: Célario is going to return to the enemy territory to try to find Ouabi, who he thinks may not be dead. Saint-Castin takes with him the remaining warriors. Since the Iroquois do not expect the attack, it is their turn to be massacred: "On les chargea avec une furie qui ne leur laissa point le tems de se reconnoître. Le plus grand nombre est tué sur la place; le surplus est estropié, ou garrotté."<sup>25</sup> On entering the village, Célario sees a prisoner attached to the stake. "Le Chef des Hurons vole vers ce malheureux captif, rompt ses liens, le reconnoît, l'embrasse avec des transports de joie. C'étoit Ouabi."<sup>26</sup> This prisoner ready to be burned at the stake recalls both *Atala* and *Les Natchez*. Chactas is destined to be burned at the stake after being taken prisoner: "Chactas, fils d'Oualissi, fils de Miscou, réjouis-toi; tu seras brûlé au grand village."<sup>27</sup> René is in the same situation at the moment Outougamiz rescues him.

Once Ouabi is rescued and the enemy massacred, the Hurons return to their village. On the trip, Célario speaks so passionately of Azakia that Ouabi begins to suspect that they love each other. The noble savage then gives up Azakia to Célario out of gratitude:

Ensuite, s'adressant à Saint-Castins: Célario, lui dit-il, tu m'as sauvé la vie, & ce qui m'est plus cher encore, tu m'as deux fois conservé Azakia. Elle t'appartient donc plus qu'à moi. Je t'appartiens moi-même. Vois si elle suffit pour nous acquitter tous les deux. Je te la cède par reconnaissance, & je ne l'eusse pas cédée pour me tirer des feux allumés par les Iroquois.<sup>28</sup>

Célario resists this generous offer, but he is finally convinced. Azakia, accustomed to such procedures, offers no resistance:

Pour la fidelle Azakia qu'on a vu résister à toutes les attaques de Saint-Castins, & refuser de survivre à l'époux qu'elle croyoit mort, on s'attend peut-être qu'elle

24. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

27. *Atala*, Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, p. 21.

28. Bricaire, *op. cit.*, p. 207.



disputera longtemps sur la séparation que cet époux lui propose. Point du tout. Elle n'avoit jusqu'alors écouté que le devoir: elle crut qu'il lui étoit libre enfin d'écouter son inclination, puisqu'Ouabi l'exigeoit. Les morceaux de la baguette d'union furent apportés, réunis & brûlés: Ouabi & Azakia s'embrassèrent pour la dernière fois, & dès ce moment cette jeune & belle Huronne rentra dans tous ses droits de fille. On dit même qu'aidé de quelques Missionnaires, Saint-Castins la mit en état de devenir sa femme dans toutes les règles. Ouabi, de son côté, rompit la baguette avec la jeune Zisma; & ces deux mariages, si différens par la forme, furent au fond également heureux. Chaque époux, bien assuré de n'avoir point de concurrens, oublia s'il avoit eu des prédécesseurs.<sup>29</sup>

Of course this ending has nothing in common with the stories of Chateaubriand. It is unbelievable and even immoral by European standards. The only detail which recalls Chateaubriand is the allusion to missionaries, which evokes Père Aubry or Père Souël.

The history of the loves of Célario and Azakia is involved. First in 1701 the Baron de Saint-Castin returned to France. Two years later, even before his death, a sketch of his life among the savages was given by Lahontan in his *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale* in 1703.<sup>30</sup> In 1765 the legend was made into a tale by Bricaire de La Dixmérie. Lahontan's work is almost certainly the direct source of the story since not only is the outline of Saint-Castin's life given there, but there are three passages elsewhere in Lahontan's volume which are so directly linked with Bricaire's story that the resemblance cannot be explained as a coincidence. First Lahontan discusses the freedom of the unmarried Indian girl in the tribal society.<sup>31</sup> This is one of the well-developed themes in *Azakia*. Also, the opening scene of the tale is inspired by a passage from Lahontan:

Je ne crois pas qu'en l'espace de cinquante ans homme ou femme ait fait aucune tentative sur la couche d'autrui. Il est vrai que les *François* ne pouvant pas distinguer les femmes d'avec les filles, les pressent quelquefois lorsqu'ils les trouvent seules à la chasse dans le Bois, ou dans le tems qu'elles se promènent dans leur champ, mais celles qui sont mariées répondent en ces termes, *l'ami qui est devant mes yeux m'empêche de le voir*.<sup>32</sup>

We find then the same formula, word for word, as is presented by La Dixmérie. Finally, the Indian superstition concerning the dreams comes also directly from Lahontan:

Le Mari ou la femme venant à mourir, le Veuvage ne dure que six mois; & si pendant ce tems-là, celui des deux conjoints qui reste, songe à l'autre deux nuits de suite pendant le sommeil; alors il s'empoisonne... avec un air tout à fait content, chantant même d'un ton qu'on peut dire venir du fond du cœur...<sup>33</sup>

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

30. La Haye, Honoré, 1703.

31. *Ibid.*, II, 132.

32. *Ibid.*, II, 140.

33. *Ibid.*, II, 139.

These elements taken together seem to establish beyond a doubt the source relationship of Lahontan to *Azakia*.

Then the literal translation of Bricaire's tale was published in America in 1789. Nothing proves that Mrs. Morton's poem, *Ouabi*, published in 1790, was not taken directly from the French story, but it is certainly most probable that the model for Mrs. Morton was the American translation. Finally, the *Azakia et Célario* published first in the *Bibliothèque Britannique* of Geneva was, according to the note, adapted from Mrs. Morton's poem.

A closer examination of the version published in the *Paris pendant l'année*, however, shows that it is not a condensation or a *première esquisse* of the Geneva and Hamburg versions as had been thought. None of the changes incorporated into these two editions remains. In addition, the text is too close to the La Dixmérie and the *American Museum* versions to have come from the poem by Mrs. Morton, as this opening paragraph shows when compared with the passages already quoted:

Les Anciens habitants du Canada étaient ce qu'on appelle vulgairement des sauvages. Les premiers Français qui voulurent les civiliser furent massacrés. Ce ne fut qu'en leur créant des besoins, qu'on parvint à leur faire supporter le joug de la civilisation. L'eau-de-vie & le tabac en firent plus à cet égard que les armes & les missionnaires n'en avaient jamais fait. Les Canadiens, vaincus par ces nouveaux besoins, perdirent bientôt leur férocité naturelle, & ils fréquentèrent avec sécurité les mêmes forêts que les Européens.<sup>34</sup>

The story of *Azakia* forms thus an unbroken line from the real events through the various adaptations and translations during the space of a century. As the next link in the chain, can La Dixmérie's tale be considered a source for Chateaubriand? There are many resemblances. It is certainly very possible that Chateaubriand may have known the story. However, there is no proof of a source relationship. Chateaubriand nowhere mentions the story or even Bricaire de La Dixmérie. The similarities may be due to the general literary vogue of Indian stories. Or the tales may resemble each other simply by coincidence. These resemblances prove, however, that the plot and Indian customs described in the stories are far from original with Chateaubriand. The originality of *Atala*, *René*, and *Les Natchez* lies in the development and embroidery of an extremely widespread theme, as this single group of stories proves.

RICHARD SWITZER

University of Chicago

34. "Azakia et Célario," *Paris pendant l'année*, XX (December, 1798), 141.

## SAMUEL CARTER HALL ON FOSCOLO

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AMONG THE MEN who in the years 1820-1823 served Foscolo, in swift and usually unhappy succession, as English secretaries—Collyer, Williams, Redding, Graham, Hall, Banim—the one who wrote most extensively on Foscolo was Samuel Carter Hall,<sup>1</sup> whose service began in the latter part of 1822 and lasted for six or eight months. The main facts as to Hall's fortunately amicable relations with Foscolo have been stated by Viglione;<sup>2</sup> and both Viglione and Ottolini refer to the account of Foscolo contained in Hall's last book, *Retrospect of a Long Life*.<sup>3</sup> There are, however, two earlier and more noteworthy accounts of Foscolo by Hall, the first of which has been known only in a secondary and abbreviated form and without recognition of its authorship, while the second has not been known at all in Italy: the main purpose of the present study is to bring these two accounts to the knowledge of scholars interested in Foscolo.

### I

On August 20, 1822, shortly before Hall entered Foscolo's service, Foscolo sent to John Murray an exceedingly long letter, largely about debts, which contains these two passages:

I can cheerfully undergo other privations, but my dwelling, which is always my workshop and often my prison, ought not to distress me by appearance of misery, and I confess in this respect I cannot be acquitted of the imputation of extravagance,

and

My apartments, decently furnished, encompass me with an atmosphere of ease and respectability; and I enjoy the illusion of not having fallen into the lowest circumstances. I always declare that I will die like a gentleman, on a decent bed, surrounded by casts (as I cannot buy the marbles) of the Venuses, of the Apollos, and of the Graces, and the busts of great men; nay, even among flowers, and, if possible, with some graceful innocent girl playing an old pianoforte in an adjoining room. And thus dies the hero of my novel. Far from courting the sympathy of mankind, I would rather be forgotten by posterity than give it the gratification of

1. For Hall (1800-1889) see the article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

2. F. Viglione, *Ugo Foscolo in Inghilterra (Saggi)*, Catania, 1910, pp. 74-90. Two notes from Foscolo to Hall are published in *Scritti vari inediti di Ugo Foscolo*, edited by Viglione, Leghorn, 1913, pp. 350-351 and 365-366.

3. *Retrospect of a Long Life: from 1815 to 1883*, two vols., London, Bentley, 1883, I, 99-104; also one vol., New York, Appleton, 1883, pp. 57-60. The London edition is listed by A. Ottolini as No. 1381 in his *Bibliografia foscoliana*, Venice, 1928, but with the name of the author given erroneously as J. Hall. Ottolini does not mention the New York edition.

ejaculating preposterous sighs because I died like Camoens and Tasso on the bed of a hospital. And since I must be buried in your country, I am happy in having insured for me the possession during the remains of my life of a cottage built after my plan, surrounded by flowering shrubs, almost within the turnpikes of the town, and yet as quiet as a country-house, and open to the free air. Whenever I can freely dispose of a hundred pounds, I will also build a small dwelling for my corpse, under a beautiful Oriental plane-tree, which I mean to plant next November, and cultivate *con amore*. So far I am indeed an epicure; in all other things I am the most moderate of men. I might vie with Pythagoras for sobriety and even, in spite of my enthusiasm, for Beauty, vie even with the Great Scipio for continence, whenever Love must be bought.

These two passages will be referred to, in the rest of this study, as the "privations" passage and the "casts" passage.<sup>4</sup>

## II

Foscolo died on September 10, 1827. *The Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review* for September 22 contains an article—the first on Foscolo published after his death—entitled "Recollections of Ugo Foscolo."<sup>5</sup> This article is unsigned; but facts to be presented in the course of this study make it clear that the article was written by Hall. Its interest and importance seem to me to warrant an almost complete reprinting.

The first paragraph, written perhaps by the editor of the *Chronicle*, is merely introductory. Paragraphs 2-5 are as follows:

Foscolo was in person about the middle height, and somewhat thin, remarkably clean and neat in his dress—although on ordinary occasions, he wore a short jacket, trousers of coarse cloth, a straw hat, and thick heavy shoes; the least speck of dirt on his own person, or on that of any of his attendants, seemed to give him real agony. His limbs were remarkably well formed; and this circumstance he regarded with no little pride, frequently adding, to any remark upon it, the observation, that Nature always gave 'a good body with a good mind;'—when the instance of Pope, or Gifford, or any other were referred to, as a proof to the contrary, he would exclaim, 'Pshaw, it is *one*,' or seriously argue, that those and other individuals had not 'a good mind,' according to the sense in which he understood the term. His countenance was of a very expressive character, his eyes very penetrating, although they occasionally betrayed a restlessness and suspicion, which his words denied; his mouth was large and ugly, his nose drooping, in the way that physiognomists dislike, but his forehead was splendid in the extreme; large, smooth, and exemplifying all the power of thought and reasoning, for which his mind was so remarkable.

4. This letter was published in full, with an Italian translation, by Eugenia Levi in her "Alcune lettere inedite di Ugo Foscolo," in *Nuova antologia*, ser. IV, XC VII (1902, Jan.-Feb.), 673-686. The sentence "And thus dies the hero of my novel" refers not to the *Ortis* but to a novel which Foscolo was planning in 1822. The "casts" passage was quoted, from Murray's copy of the letter, by Samuel Smiles, in his *A Publisher and his Friends—Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray*, London, pp. 138-140. A second edition of this book, with the same pagination, was published in the same year. Part of the "casts" passage was quoted, in Miss Levi's translation, by Viglione in his *Ugo Foscolo in Inghilterra*, p. 72.

5. No. 436, pp. 603-604.

It was, indeed, precisely the same as that we see given in the prints of Michael Angelo; he has often heard the comparison made, and by a nod assented to it. He was partially bald, and the hair that remained was thinly scattered. It had been red, and his whiskers (which were enormous) remained so. The whole countenance was very peculiar, it was such as, to the most casual observer, bespoke one who was not of the common order of mankind, but it may be questioned whether it was prepossessing.

In his living, Foscolo was remarkably abstemious. He seldom drank more than two glasses of wine, but he was fond of having all he eat and drank of the very best kind, and laid out with great attention to order. He always took coffee immediately after dinner. His house,—I speak of the one he built for himself, near the Regent's Park,—was adorned with furniture of the most costly description; at one time he had five magnificent carpets, one under another, on his drawing-room, and no two chairs in his house were alike. His tables were all of rare and curious woods. Some of the best busts and statues (in plaster) were scattered through every apartment,—and on those he doated with a fervour scarcely short of adoration. I remember his once sending for me in great haste, and when I entered his library, I found him kneeling, and exclaiming 'beautiful, beautiful.' He was gazing on the Venus de Medici, which he had discovered looked most enchanting, when the light of his lamp was made to shine upon it from a particular direction. On this occasion, he had summoned his whole household into his library, to witness the discovery which gave him so much rapture. In this state, continually exclaiming, 'beautiful, beautiful,' and gazing on the figure, he remained for nearly two hours.

He had the greatest dislike to be asked a question, which he did not consider important, and used to say, 'I have three miseries—smoke, flies, and to be asked a foolish question.'

His memory was one of the most remarkable. He has often requested me to copy for him (from some library) a passage, which I should find in such a page of such a book; and appeared as if he never forgot any thing with which he was once acquainted.

The next two paragraphs report anecdotes related by Foscolo. Paragraphs 8-11 are as follows:

His conversation was peculiarly eloquent and impressive, such as to render it evident that he had not been overrated as an orator, when in the days of his glory, he was the admiration of his country. I remember his once discoursing to me of language, and saying, 'in every language, there are three things to be noticed,—verbs, substantives, and the particles; the verbs,' holding out his hand, 'are as the bones of these fingers; the substantives, the flesh and blood; but the particles are the sinews, without which the fingers could not move.'

'There are,' said he to me, once, 'three kinds of writing—*diplomatic*, in which you do not come to a point, but write artfully, and not to show what you mean; *attorney*, in which you are brief; and *enlarged*, in which you spread and stretch your thoughts.'

He told me that he once played a pleasant trick on two gentlemen, Messrs. Rose and Davenport.\* He wrote a song in very bad Italian, gave it to Mr. Rose, as the composition of Mr. Davenport, and subsequently to Mr. Davenport, as

6. William Stewart Rose and (probably) Richard Alfred Davenport.

the composition of Mr. Rose. When the gentlemen met, the trick was discovered.

I have said that his cottage (built by himself), near the Regent's Park, was very beautiful. I remember his showing me a letter to a friend, in which were the following passages:—After alluding to some pecuniary difficulties, he says, 'I can easily undergo all privations, but my dwelling is always my workshop, and often my prison, and ought not to distress me with the appearance of misery, and I confess, in this respect, I cannot be acquitted of extravagance.'

It will be seen that the quotation contained in the foregoing paragraph is the "privations" passage of the letter to Murray, and that the wording of the *Chronicle* form differs somewhat from that of the missive form (i.e., the form actually sent to Murray): the *Chronicle* form, for instance, has "easily" instead of "cheerfully."

Paragraph 12 is as follows—except for four final sentences of insignificant comment:

Speaking afterwards of the costliness of his furniture he observes, 'they encompass me with an air of respectability, and they give me the illusion of not having fallen into the lowest circumstances. I must also declare that I will die like a gentleman, on a clean bed, surrounded by the Venus's, Apollo's, and the Graces, and the busts of great men; nay, even among flowers, and, if possible, while music is breathing around me. Far from courting the sympathy of posterity, I will never give mankind the gratification of ejaculating preposterous sighs, because I died in a hospital, like Camoens, or Tasso; and since I must be buried in your country, I am happy in having got, for the remainder of my life, a cottage, independent of neighbors, surrounded by flowery shrubs, and open to the free air;—and when I can freely dispose of a hundred pounds, I will build a small dwelling for my corpse also, under a beautiful oriental plane tree, which I mean to plant next November, and cultivate *con amore*, to the last year of my existence. So far, I am, indeed an epicure, but in all other things, I am the most moderate of men. I might vie with Pythagoras for sobriety and even with the great Scipio for continence.'

The variations in wording as between the *Chronicle* form and the missive form are in this case considerable: the *Chronicle* form, for instance, has simply "while music is breathing around me" at the point at which the missive form reads: "with some graceful innocent girl playing an old pianoforte in an adjoining room."

When the author of the *Chronicle* article inserted these two quoted passages, he certainly had before him a written document of some kind. The agreements between the *Chronicle* form and the missive form are too close and extensive to make it possible that he, writing in 1827, should have held in memory passages he had not seen for—presumably—some years. The fact that he was working from a written document is evidenced also by the awkwardness of the beginning of the long quotation: the proper subject of the word "encompass" is the word "apartments," which he does not quote. It follows that he was working from a copy, made by him long before, of the particular copy of the letter which Foscolo had retained. It is then evident that Foscolo's retained copy was not a copy of the letter



as sent, but was a preliminary form of the letter (either the original draft itself or a copy of that draft), and that Foscolo when writing the missive copy had this preliminary form before him, but modified it freely as he wrote the missive form. This being the case, the *Chronicle* variants should be utilized in the new edition of the *Epistolario* of Foscolo.

Paragraph 13 is as follows:

During a great portion of the time I was acquainted with Ugo Foscolo, he was under severe pecuniary distress, chiefly indeed brought on by his own thoughtless extravagance, in building and decorating his house. I have frequently in those moments seen him beat his forehead, tear his hair, and gnash his teeth in a manner horrifying; and often left him at night without the least hope of seeing him alive in the morning. He had a little Italian dagger which he always kept in his bedroom, and this he frequently told me would 'drink his heart's blood in the night.' 'I will die,' said he, one day, 'I am a stranger, and have no friends.' 'Surely, sir, I replied, 'a stranger may have friends.' 'Friends,' he answered; 'I have learned that there is nothing in the word; I assure you, I called on W—e,' to know if there was anything bad about me in the newspapers; everybody seems to be leagued against me—friends and enemies. I assure you, I do not think I will live after next Saturday, unless there is some change.' At another time he said, 'I am surrounded with difficulties, and must yield either life or honour; and can you ask me which I will give up?' I have now before me a letter of Foscolo's, which, after enumerating a long series of evils, concludes thus: 'Thus, if I have not underwent the doom of Tasso, I owe it only to the strength of my nerves that have preserved me.'

Paragraph 14, written perhaps by the editor of the *Chronicle*, is merely conclusory. It is followed by the words *Requiescat in pace*; and after these words there is quoted, with a brief introduction, Foscolo's English ode "To Callirhoe, at Lausanne."

The *Chronicle* article was reprinted in an abbreviated form, under the title "Anecdotes of Ugo Foscolo, the Italian Poet," in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*—an eclectic magazine—for October 6, 1827.<sup>10</sup> The abbreviation consists in the omission of Paragraphs 1, 6, 7, 10,

7. William Wallace.

8. As far as I am aware, the letter from which this quotation is taken has not been published.

9. *Poesie di Ugo Foscolo*, edited by G. Chiarini, Leghorn, 1904, p. 404. The second word in line 5 should be "thee," not "the." On this poem see C. Antona-Traversi, *Ugo Foscolo*, Milan, 1926, pp. 79-112. The following number of the *Chronicle*, for September 29, carries on p. 621 a brief and uninteresting biographical and appreciative article on Foscolo, to which is appended a letter to the editor, announcing a subscription for the erection of a memorial tablet in Chiswick Church. This letter is referred to by Chiarini in his *La Vita di Ugo Foscolo*, edited by G. Mazzoni, 2d ed., Florence, 1927, p. 454; but Chiarini does not refer to the article which precedes the letter. Ottolini, under the number 391, has this entry: "Literary Chronicle, Londra, 1827. Nel fascicolo di ottobre: notizie varie e curiose sul Foscolo; è forse di Lady Dacre." This I cannot verify: the four issues for October are unfortunately lacking in the only copy of the volume of the *Chronicle* for 1827 that is available to me.

10. Vol. X (1827, July-Dec.), no. 276, pp. 229-231. The article in this secondary and abbreviated form is listed twice by Ottolini: once, under no. 384, as "Aneddoti su Ugo Foscolo poeta italiano," and once, under no. 389, as "Necrologia di U. Foscolo."

and 14, about half of Paragraph 2, the last four sentences of Paragraph 12, and a few words elsewhere. A credit line at the end indicates that the article was taken from the *Literary Chronicle*.

A translation of the *Mirror* article made by Giuseppe Cerrato at the request of G. A. Martinetti was published under the title "Aneddoti su Ugo Foscolo poeta italiano," in the *Monviso* of Saluzzo for October 17, 1885.<sup>11</sup>

### III

Hall's second account of Foscolo is contained in his *A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age from Personal Acquaintance*, first published in 1871.<sup>12</sup> Hall's career as a journalist had been industrious, successful, and honorable, and the range of his acquaintance was remarkably wide. His *Book of Memories* contains interesting chapters on a great many writers, among them Moore, Coleridge, Lamb, Hood, Cooper, Irving, Hawthorne, Landor, Hunt, Wordsworth, Lockhart, Scott, Macaulay, and Dickens. The portions of the chapter on Foscolo which consist of Hall's personal recollections of him are as follows—the other portions being for the most part either moralizing reflections or statements of facts that are well known:

... In the year 1823<sup>13</sup> ... it was intimated to me that I could, if I liked, become the secretary of the Italian poet, Ugo Foscolo, who stood in need of such assistance as I might render him. I accepted the "appointment"—if so it may be called, which implied little work and no pay; for so it was, during the six or eight months I was associated with him. He had himself nothing to do; and my services consisted principally in making copies of letters, and transcribing and converting into "better English" some articles he was engaged in writing, with a view to publication in the *Quarterly Review* and the *New Monthly Magazine*.

His manuscripts were partly in English, partly in French, and partly in Italian. His caligraphy was of the worst possible order, and it was no easy task to bring them together, so as to make them readable by the printer, and available for the publisher. ...

It was a most unhealthy atmosphere to which I was subjected. Foscolo made no secret of being an infidel. He had no principle to guide him that might have worked in the stead of religious sentiment. He coveted and enjoyed the luxuries of an Epicurean; and his household consisted of five female servants—two of whom were sisters—one of them being his housekeeper, and all of them were handsome. ... I had intense admiration for his genius, and was enthusiastically devoted to him. ...

Our evenings were generally spent in playing chess, but I soon found it was a dangerous game; if he were beaten he would throw the men about, and sometimes

11. III, No. 83, pp. 1-2. This article is recorded by Ottolini as his no. 1528. For exact information about it I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Giuseppe Billanovich. Nearly all portions of Cerrato's translation are quoted—though not in sequence—by Antona-Traversi and Ottolini in their *Ugo Foscolo*, 4 vols., Milan, IV (1928), 226-232.

12. London, Virtue, 1871, pp. 445-448; 2nd ed., London, Virtue, 1876, pp. 450-453. The only reference to this book known to me occurs in a note in E. R. Vincent's *Byron, Hobhouse and Foscolo*, Cambridge, 1949, p. 134.

13. This is a slip of memory: the year was certainly 1822.



tear his long straggling hair, so as to leave much of it in his hands; and I was glad to retire to my lonely home, occasionally to be sent for, and asked to accept an apology—which, of course, I always did.

At least once a week, he succeeded in persuading me that he intended to commit suicide before the morning. On one occasion, I remember, I paced up and down the road all night, fully convinced that I should be called in to see him dead: he had shown me a small dagger, which he kept at his bedside, and had told me he meant to kill himself with that, when midnight had passed. I ran off as fast as I could to communicate the appalling fact to John Cam Hobhouse, one of his friends. I disturbed him from a party to entreat his interference, and was horrified when he patted me on the shoulder and said, "My young friend, when you know Foscolo as well as I do, you will have as little faith in him as I have." I returned to keep watch beside his door, and when the house was astir, I entered—to hear the poet shouting for his breakfast! He greeted me without a thought to my agony of the night. Gradually the mist in which he had enveloped me was dispelled. I left his neighbourhood.

It is certain that he fully valued the house he had built and adorned; elegancies were to him luxuries; he was no epicure in the ordinary sense of the word; of wine he partook sparingly; but his rooms were crowded with refinements of art, and in every corner or convenient space there was the copy of an antique statue: his house was, indeed, his palace. He wrote, in one of the very few letters of which I preserved copies, "I can easily undergo all privations; but my dwelling is always my workshop, and often my prison, and ought not to distress me with appearance of misery, and I confess, in this respect, I cannot be acquitted of extravagance."

It will be seen that the quotation contained in the foregoing paragraph is the "privations" passage from the letter to Murray, and that the wording is exactly that of the *Chronicle* article.

The next paragraph in the *Book of Memories* consists almost entirely of a quotation of the "casts" passage from the letter to Murray: the wording is exactly that of the *Chronicle* article. A footnote to the plane-tree sentence reads: "That tree he did actually plant. It was flourishing a few years ago, when the artist, R. J. Lane, lived in Digamma Cottage."

After a moralizing paragraph the chapter continues:

I recall him now as, with a vehemence almost super-human, he denounced the Corsican, quoting the brave and terribly bitter words he used when face to face with the conqueror of Italy—almost of the world.

My recollection of him is very vivid. He was somewhat above the middle size, thin, almost attenuated, but wiry, active, and exceedingly energetic, apparently unable to control a naturally irritable temper by any influence of reason. His head was one of the finest, in the intellectual organs, I have ever seen; a forehead as broad and massive as that of Michael Angelo, whom, indeed, he somewhat resembled, even to a slightly-depressed nose; his eyes were grey, deep-set, and quick; shaggy eyebrows overhung them; he wore a beard; his mouth was large and sensual, and its expression was not concealed by a moustache; his light hair was thin and long (it must have been originally red); he was continually tearing it when under the effects of any sudden excitement. . . .

He had all the outer characteristics usually associated with ideas of lofty genius, but a mind ill regulated, and not directed by any thought or care to the exigencies

or the duties of life—of life here as a preparation for life hereafter; in that, indeed, most unhappily, he did not believe; he had no superintending, or directing, or influencing Faith of any kind; and the Teachers of all Faiths were to him abominations. . . .

The exact agreement of the *Chronicle* article and the *Book of Memories* chapter in the wording of the passages from the letter to Murray, the correspondence of the "dagger" passages, and the fact that the author of the *Chronicle* article had obviously been on terms of secretarial intimacy with Foscolo suffice to show that Hall must have been the author of the *Chronicle* article.

#### IV

Hall's third and last account of Foscolo is the one contained in his *Retrospect of a Long Life*, published in 1883. This account is utilized by Viglione, and there is accordingly no need that it be summarized here.<sup>14</sup> It may be noted, however, that some of its passages repeat, with only the slightest verbal variations, the corresponding passages of the chapter in the *Book of Memories*: such are the passage beginning—"My recollection of him is vivid"; the passage on Foscolo's manuscripts; and the "chess" passage. The only two new or partially new items of personal recollection are a remark, quoted by Viglione, that is illustrative of Foscolo's atheism, and this slight development of the "Corsican" passage in the *Book of Memories*: "He dared the first Napoleon when the Emperor's word was fate. It was a favorite 'performance' of his to show an audience in what attitude and with what words he did so."<sup>15</sup>

ERNEST H. WILKINS

*Harvard University*

14. For references see notes 2 and 3.

15. I am happily indebted to Professor C. L. Shaver for calling Hall's association with Foscolo to my attention.

## THE INFLUENCE OF TABOUROT DES ACCORDS ON BALZAC'S *CONTES DROLATIQUES*

FOR THE SECOND *dizain* (published in July, 1833) of his *Contes drolatiques* Balzac freely utilised the work of Etienne Tabourot des Accords,<sup>1</sup> a minor writer of the second half of the sixteenth century, who has been called "le Rabelais de la Bourgogne." Tabourot's literary output was varied, and it was not all of equal interest to the nineteenth-century storyteller. Undoubtedly Balzac was less interested in the *Touches* (epigrammatic poetry) and the second (humorously termed the fourth) book of *Bigarrures* (dealing with such serious matters as education) than in the two collections of stories, the *Contes facécieux du sieur Gaulard* and the *Escraignes<sup>2</sup> dijonnaises*. Perhaps his favorite was Tabourot's long first book of *Bigarrures*, a curious assortment of many kinds of word play, ingenious rhyming, anecdotes, and bizarre comparisons.

That Tabourot was one of his sources, was revealed by Balzac himself, in a letter written September 16, 1832 from Aix-les-Bains to his mother in Paris:

Il faudrait aussi très *urgemment* te procurer chez Merlin ou chez quelque autre bouquiniste les œuvres de Tabourot, seigneur des Accords et les joindre au paquet. Il y a divers titres à ses œuvres, Merlin te les dira, ou mieux, tu les trouveras indiqués dans la *Biographie universelle* à l'article "Tabourot." Il me les faut absolu-

1. For biographical and bibliographical details, see Georges Choptrayanovitch, *Etienne Tabourot des Accords (1549-1590). Etude sur sa vie et son œuvre littéraire*, Dijon, 1935. Quotations in this article are from: *Les Bigarrures et touches du seigneur Des Accords, avec les Apophtegmes du sieur Gaulard, et les Escraignes dijonnaises. Dernière édition. De nouveau augmentée de plusieurs épitaphes, dialogues, & ingénieuses équivoques*, Paris, Arnould Cotinet and Estienne Maucroy, 1662. For Balzac, I have used the Conard edition (vols. 36 and 37 of the *Œuvres complètes*); roman numerals indicate the *dizains*.

2. *Escraigne* was defined by Tabourot, in his "prologue au lecteur sur l'étymologie du livre," as a kind of crude shelter which poor Burgundian *vignerons* set up, on side streets, during the winter months. They and especially their womenfolk spent the long evenings in these shelters, each in turn bringing fuel and lamp, and many joyous tales were told to while away the time. Occasionally the girls visited neighboring *escraignes* to engage in friendly dispute. The term later came to be applied to the gathering itself, even when it was no longer held in one of these shelters. For convenience in giving references, I have arbitrarily extended it to "*conte* in the *Escraignes dijonnaises*" (thus, *Escraigne* 1 designates the first story in this collection).

For details, see (in addition to Tabourot's prologue—quoted in part in E. Huguet, *Dictionnaire du seizième siècle*, s. v. *escraigne*): Bernard de La Monnoye, *Noël borignon*, Dijon, 1720, pp. 210-211; F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, III, 440; E. Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache*, 346a.

ment. Je crois que l'œuvre principale est les *Coq-à-l'âne*, les *Touches*, les *Contre-petries du seigneur des Accords*; je ne me souviens pas bien.<sup>3</sup>

Earlier in the letter he had reported that the second *dixain* was more than half done. On the 30th of September he wrote<sup>4</sup> that to finish the *dixain* he needed only his books from Saché and one other, presumably the Tabourot. Later in the day this book arrived and he penned a note of thanks: "Merci du Taboureau [sic]; j'en avais bien besoin."<sup>5</sup> Judging from the catalogue of the sale in 1882 of a part of his widow's library, Balzac's copy was of the Rouen, 1648 edition.<sup>6</sup>

Balzac's testimony provides a *terminus a quo* for those stories (or parts of stories) which reveal extensive borrowing from Tabourot, and also makes clear that they were among the last to be written. Thus, though *Les Trois Clercs de saint Nicholas* opens this second *dixain*, it cannot have been completed until relatively late since its final section owes a great deal to Tabourot. The Burgundian's anecdote (II, 250-253) is taken from *Escraigne* 40 (pages 155-157). Appropriately enough, Balzac chose a Burgundian to be the narrator of the story borrowed from the Burgundian author. Balzac has merely changed the husband's name to the more common Franc-Taupin (also the surname of the narrators of *Escraignes* 4 and 34), and has embroidered, in his usual fashion, upon the bare, straightforward narrative of his model:

#### Balzac

Il y avoyt ung sergent de iustice nommé Franc-Taupin, lequel estoit ung vieulx sacq à mauvaisetiez, touiours grognant, touiours battant, faysant à tout une mine de verglas, ne resconfortant iamais par quelques gaudriolles ceulx qu'il menoyt pendre; et, pour estre brief, homme à trouver des poulx en teste chauve et des torts à Dieu. Ce dict Taupin, rebutté de tout poinct, s'enchargea d'une femme; et, par grant hazard, il lui en écheut une douce comme pelure d'oignon. Laquelle, voyant la défectueuse complexion de son mari, se donna pluz de peine pour luy cuire de la joie au logiz qu'une autre en eust pris à l'encorner.

Mais, encores qu'elle se complust à

#### Tabourot

François Talepoire dit, que feu Fiacre Cunois Sergent Royal, que chacun a bien conneu, auoit espousé une fort honneste femme selon sa qualité, & luy estoit si rude & fascheux, qu'il n'y auoit moyen de l'adoucir. Cette pauvre femme estoit si ennuyée de voir les complexions de cét homme, qu'elle ne scauoit que faire, elle se donnoit toutes les peines du monde de luy complaire, & de le bien traiter, & neantmoins il auoit tousiours la main leuée sur elle. Cela continua tant qu'elle fut contrainte de s'en plaindre à ses parens, lesquels s'interposerent pour scauoir d'où pouuoit proceder ce mauuais traitement. . . (*Escraigne* 40, page 155).

3. W. S. Hastings, *Honoré de Balzac. Letters to his Family (1809-1850)*, Princeton, 1934, pp. 116-117.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 116, note. I have been unable to consult this particular edition; I know only that it is an enlarged edition, and that some of Balzac's borrowings prove that he read an enlarged edition.

luy obéir en toutes choses, et pour avoir la paix eust tasché de lui fianter de l'or si Dieu l'eust voulu, ce mauvais homme rechignoit perpétuellement, et n'esparagnoyt pas pluz les coupz à sa femme, qu'ung débiteur, les promesses aux recors.

Ce traictement incommode continuant maugré les soins et travail angelique de la paouvre femme, elle fust contraincte, ne s'y accoustumant point, à en référer à ses parens, lesquels intervindrent à la maison . . . (II, 250-251).

"Candide" pointed out<sup>7</sup> this particular source, but he did not appear to realize that Balzac made other borrowings from Tabourot. And Toldo, in his discussion of Balzac's sources,<sup>8</sup> did not even mention Tabourot.

In the innkeeper's story (II, 254-255), which follows the Burgundian's, Balzac has shown far more independence. The first *Escraigne* provided the following:

il dit qu'il se souenoit d'auoir esté autrefois en vne compagnie de Dames & Damoiselles qui se monstroient si mistes & delicates qu'elles n'eussent osé estrangler vn pet, ou le faire tourner de sexe masculin en feminin, sans passer sous l'arc Saint Bernard. L'une desquelles ainsi qu'elle se remuoit estant pressée, fist vn petit sansonnet, qu'elle ne peût toutes fois si dextrement couvrir que l'esclat n'en fust ouy, dont toutes les autres se prenans à rire, comme pour exprobration de son inciuilité; elle se voulant excuser dit, que l'on luy faisoit grand tort, & que c'estoit son soulier, qui auoit mené tel bruit, & qu'ainsi soit dit-elle, voylà vraiment comme i'ay fait, Or d'autant qu'elle n'auoit qu'à demy deschargé l'artillerie, il aduint que voulant s'efforcer de faire frotter son soulier sur l'ais dont la chambre estoit planchée pour en tirer quelque son, le reste prit vent, qui fit vn pareil sansonnet que le premier. Lors la risée recommença plus grande qu'auparauant, & dit l'on que l'on auoit grand tort de l'accuser, par ce que vraiment elle auoit fait ainsi (pages 101-102);

this has furnished both a situation and particular expressions—"descharger l'artillerie"<sup>9</sup> and especially "estrangler un pet"—upon which Balzac has enlarged. But he has not hesitated to make alterations. The protagonist, for example, becomes the innkeeper's wife, and the escape of the three clerics is prepared: they ask to see her, mine host's attention is diverted, and they slip away without paying their bill.

Three passages in the sixth story, *Le Dangier d'estre trop coquebin*, can be as certainly attributed to the influence of Tabourot. The enumerations (II, 339-341) were derived from several poems found at the end of the

7. *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux*, LII (1905), cols. 943-944.

8. *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, III (1905), 130-137.

9. A metaphor often used by the conteurs; cf. e.g., canonade (*Escraigne* 20), hargue-buzade (*Escraigne* 14). But *estrangler un pet* appears to be peculiar to Tabourot.

first book of *Bigarrures*, in the section (pages 379-408) entitled "Avtres sortes de vers en Dialogves, et Descriptions, adioustées sur la fin de ces Bigarrures, que l'on n'a voulu mettre dans les Chapitres, afin de ne confondre ce qui est de l'Authheur des Bigarrures, & de l'Adjonction d'autrui." One poem (pages 395-397), labelled simply "Barbe," recalls in tone rather than in detail the invective against Monsieur de Braguelongne:

Ce hon! hon! hon! . . . à barbe en piedz  
de mousches.

Barbe molle, vieille, grize, ruynée,  
ahannée;

Barbe sans compréhension, sans ver-  
gongne, sans nul respect féminin;

Barbe qui feint de ne point sentir, ni  
voir ni entendre;

Barbe esbarbée, abattue, desbifée;

Barbe esreinée (II, 339).

*Je peins vne Barbe peignée,  
De couleur de pied d'araignée* (page 395),

*Bien faite & d'antique maison* (page 396),

.....

*Vn Barbier docte à la guilene,*

*Tout frais venu de la taverne,*

*Se courrouçant à son valet,*

*Tout ainsi qu'aux barbes de farces,*

*Te fit les moustaches esparses,*

*Comme les aïles d'un poulet.*

*Il t'en fit l'vne retroussée,*

*L'autre de colere abaissée,*

*Comme la frange d'un espieu,*

*Il te fit comme vne escarcelle:*

.....

*Barbe mistiquement salée,*

*Au bordeau souuent estallée,*

*Barbe molle au poil délié,*

.....

*Tes branches de vergongne esprises*  
(page 397)

*Couurent ses levres aussi grises,*

*Que les oreilles d'un Magot,*

.....

*Car sans toy, Barbe en crasse fertile, . . .*

Balzac's "nez" series was suggested by the "Description pathétique d'un nez":

Que le mal italien me délivre de ce mes-  
chant braguard à nez flatry,

Nez embrené,

Nez gellé,

Nez sans religion,

Nez secq comme table de luth,

Nez pasle,

Nez sans asme,

Nez qui ne ha plus que de l'ombre,

Nez qui n'y voit goutte, [pun!]

Nez grezillé comme feuille de vigne,

Nez que je hais!

Nez vieux!

*Mes amis en quelle boutique* (page 383),

*D'une sottie façon antique,*

*Ce mal-heureux nez fut-il fait:*

*Le chetif homme qui le porte,*

*L'on n'en vit iamais de la sorte.*

.....

*Il ressemble une Sarbacane,*

*Il tient vn peu du bec de cane,*

.....

*Nez plus long que tout le visage* (page 384),

*Nez qui fait vn arpent d'ombrage,*

*Nez Roy de tous les autres nez,*

*Nez que cent mille couleurs fardent,*



Nez farci de vent . . .

Nez mort.

Où ais-je eu la veue de m'attacher à ce nez en truffe,<sup>10</sup>

à ce vieil verrouil qui ne cognoist plus sa voye?

Je donne ma part au dyable de ce vieulx nez sans honneur, . . . (II, 339-340).

*Nez dont tous ceux qui le regardent  
Rians demeurent estonnez.*

.....  
*Or adieu Nez Pantalonnasque,*

*Fait en brayette de Tudesque,*

*En Treffe,<sup>10</sup> en poire de Serteaux,*

*En Mail bilors, en beste-raue,*

*En vieil verrouil à fermer caue,*

*Tout couronné comme gasteaux.*

In these two examples there is little to indicate that Balzac consulted his copy of Tabourot as he composed them; they may, indeed, have been at least partially completed before it arrived. But for the third litany, directed against Madame d'Amboise, he has scarcely done more than transcribe, from four poems describing an old woman (pages 385-395), the lines which caught his eye:

Vieille Ha Ha! vieille Hon Hon!

que t'estouffe la coqueluche!

Que te ronge un cancre!

*Vieille ha ha, vieille hon hon,*

*Vieille corneille, vieil heron (page 385),*

*Les chiens .....*

*Te puissent ronger les prepuces (page 387, lines 25-30),*

Vieille estrille esdentée!

*Vieille estrille toute edentée (page 386, line 13),*

Vieille pantophle où le pied ne tient plus!

*Vieille pantoufle de Regent (page 386, line 6),*

Vieille arquebuse!

*Vieille arquebuse de forest (page 386, line 8),*

Vieille morue de dix ans!

*Vieille mourue de dix ans (page 386, line 33),*

Vieille araignée qui ne remue plus que en s'entoillant le soir!

*Vieille araignée filant le soir (page 387, line 4),*

Vieille morte à yeulx ouverts!

*Vieille qui dort les yeux ouverts (page 387, line 22),*

Vieille berceuse du dyable!

*Vieille lanterne d'Oublieur (page 387, line 16),*

Vieille lanterne du vieil crieur d'oublies!

Vieille de qui le resguard tue. . .

*Vieille de qui le regard tue (page 386, line 22),*

Vieille moustache de vieil theriacleur!

*Vieille moustache d'Empirique (page 386, line 29),*

*Vieil onguent de vieil triacleur (page 387, line 17),*

Vieille à faire plourer la mort! . . .

*Vieille qui fait pleurer la mort (page 387, line 20),*

Vieille pédale d'orgue!

*Des orgues maistresse pédale (page 389, line 30),*

10. Both *trèfle* and *truffe* seem to have been used in this comparison: cf. "le nez en figure d'un as de truffes" (Rabelais, IV, 9) and "Embonpoint de sole fritte, Visage de Truffe cuite" (Tabourot, page 368).

Vieille gayne à cent couteaux!<sup>11</sup>

Vieulx porche d'ecclize usé par les genouilz!

Vieulx troneq où tout le monde ha miz!  
 Je donneroyz tout mon heur à venir pour  
 estre quitte de toy! . . . (II, 341).

To these same burlesque-indecent poems, which Balzac obviously enjoyed, one can trace a number of expressions found in some of his other *Contes drolatiques*:

elle resleva le ieune Tourangeaud qui trouvoyt dedans sa mizère, le couraige de soubrire à sa maystresse, laquelle avoyt la maïesté d'une vieille rose, les aureilles en escarpin et le tainct d'une chatte malade (*Comment fust basti* . . . , II, 297);

[*Salade*, apparently considered too burlesque, has been replaced by *rose*.]

s'il taste de moy, ie veulx perdre mon lustre et devenir aussi laide que le marmouzet d'ung cistre (*La Mye du roy*, I, 93). Cf. also II, 340: ce visaige de marmouset.

Mais oui, ie l'ay tuée, et la chose est claire; car de son vivant, iamays son ioly tectin ne se fust laissé cheoir comme il est! Vrai Dieu! l'on diroyt ung escu au fond d'ung bissac (*L'Héritier du dyable*, I, 115).

*Cette gayne à mille cousteaux* (page 390, line 26).

*Et vostre oreille en escarpin* (page 391, line 22) [perhaps suggested by Rabelais's description of Quaresmeprenant (IV, 31):

Les aureilles, comme deux mitaines, . . .  
 Les joues, comme deux sabbotz, etc.]

*Cette petite Dame au visage de cire,  
 Ce manche de cousteau propre à nous  
 faire rire,  
 Qui a l'œil et le port d'un antique rebecq,  
 Merite un coup de becq.  
 Elle a la bouche & l'œil d'une chatte  
 malade,  
 L'auguste maïesté d'une vieille salade,  
 Sa petite personne, & son corps de brochet  
 Ressemble un trebuchet* (page 402).

*Vostre teste ressemble au Marmouzet  
 d'un cistre,  
 Vos yeux au point d'un dé, vos doigts un  
 chalumeau,  
 Vostre teint diapré les serres d'un ormeau,  
 Vostre peau le reuers d'un antique registre.  
 Vostre gorge pendante un bisac d'un be-  
 listre* (page 395).  
*Vostre estomach fait en escuelle  
 Pourroit encor servir de gueule  
 Vos flancs de herse & de râteau,  
 Et de vos pendantes mammelles  
 Un bissac & deux escarcelles,  
 Pour mettre l'argent du bordeau*  
 (page 394).

Cf. also *les tetins gibecieres* (page 389).

11. Cf. Balzac, II, 406, "ceste guaisne à mille cousteaux, ceste dyablesse" [le Succube]; and Tabourot (page 368), "Guayne à mettre des cousteaux" [a courtesan].

*Les Bons Propos des religieuses de Poissy*, though composed—in part at least<sup>12</sup>—before Balzac received his copy of Tabourot, has passages revealing a familiarity with the latter's works. These passages, reproduced here, are very probably additions which Balzac made to his first draft.

comme il n'y a rien qui mieulx qu'une chatte ressemble à ung chat, elles se prenoient en amitié, se querelloient . . . (II, 274). Cf. I, 223: si rien ne ressemble tant à ung homme, qu'un homme; il n'y ha aussi rien qui diffère plus d'un homme, qu'ung homme.

D. Qui ressemble mieux à vn chat? R. C'est vne chate (*Escraignes*, page 175).

sa nature estoyt si bruslante, qu'en la mettant dans de l'eau elle y faisoit *frist* comme ung charbon. Il y a eu des sœurs qui l'ont accusée de cuire secrettement des œufs, la nuit, entre ses deux orteils, afin de supporter ses austérités (II, 281).

[Noble woman is promised to "celuy qui la pourroit rendre confuse en dispute." After many have failed, a young villager tries.] Pardy, mademoiselle, vous estes bien rouge. Ouy, dit-elle, j'ay le feu au cul. Lors il se souvient de ses trois œufs qu'il auoit encores, & les tirant de sa poche, les luy presente, la priant de les faire cuire pour son soupper (*Escraigne* 41, page 160).

Balzac's still coarser pleasantry, the punning development of the saying "il n'y point de vent sans pluie" (II, 277), appears to be patterned directly after Tabourot's similar treatment of "petite pluie abat grand vent" (*Escraigne* 20, page 122). Among the terms Balzac uses for the archbishop's *braguette* are *Habitavit* (II, 284) and "l'habitable de la boussole conjugale" (II, 287). So Tabourot:

D. Comment appelle-on en latin une brayette? R. C'est habitavit (*Escraignes* page 174).

*Habitavit*, c'est à dire vne brayette, quasi, Habit à vit.

L'on dira *habitaaculum*, habit à cul long, à mesme raison (*Bigarrures*, page 73). (Cf. Rabelais, IV, 38: *boursavitz*.)

Other stories in the second *dizain* offer further examples of linguistic borrowing. The *brouillissement*, 'd'une manière confuse,' of *Le Jeune de François premier* (II, 261) is attested only in enlarged editions of Tabourot's *Bigarrures* (pages 68, 144, "adjonction d'autrui"). The expression "en bon toscan de Muzaraignois" (*Le Prosne du ioyeux curé*, II, 370) is probably derived from "en Tuscan de Bourgogne" (prologue to the *Escraignes*,

12. Three times from August 25 to September 16 (1832), Balzac asked his mother to send him from Gosselin the first sheets of this story (*Letters to his Family*, pp. 108, 113, 115). The final section (II, 282-287) may also have been written before the Tabourot arrived, as it is based on an anecdote related to him by Zulma Carraud, in a letter dated May 3, 1832 (quoted by M. Bouteron, Conard, XXXVII, 303-304).

page 98). The distinctive form *bourguignot*—"sa parentez bourguignotte" (II, 315)—may have been suggested by Tabourot's title, *Les Contes facecieux du sieur Gaulard, gentilhomme de la Franche Comté bourguignotte*. *Le Succube* contains a few phrases inspired by Tabourot:

lequel dyable [le Succube] . . . ha moult	<i>Je suis mort d'Amour entrepris</i>
affligez la ville en soy mettant sous ung	<i>Entre les iambes d'une Dame,</i>
nombre infini d'hommes pour en conquies	<i>Bien heureux d'auoir rendu l'ame</i>
ter les asmes . . . et leur donnant le	<i>Au mesme lieu où ie l'ay pris.</i>
trespas là où se prend la vie (II, 432;	( <i>Bigarrures</i> , page 357.)
cf. II, 395, and I, 91; III, 139).	

In particular, a dialogue of two courtesans (in verse, *Bigarrures*, pages 367-376) appears to have been of influence:

ceste dyablesse [le Succube] mammale-	[courtisane] <i>Ardente comme une mesche</i>
ment ardente comme mesche (II, 395).	( <i>Bigarrures</i> , page 371).

Balzac elaborates: "les deux amans se serroient, pressoient . . . et baysoient par ung resguard à brusler la mesche d'ung harquebousier, si harquebousier eust esté là" (II, 349); "laquelle à la prime périphrase print feu, en son entendement, comme vieil amadoux à l'escopette d'ung soudard" (II, 340). Finally, the use of *frayer* (*Bigarrures*, pages 367, 375) and the erotic metaphor of the horse and rider—especially the violent, impetuous efforts of the mount to unseat the rider (*Bigarrures*, pages 373-374)—recall certain passages in *Le Succube*.<sup>13</sup>

When one turns to examine the first and third *dixains*, one finds scarcely a half dozen clearcut examples of borrowing. Two of these (from the first *dizain*) have already been given; here are the others:

le damné prebstre traversoyt la Loire en  
ung batteau la veille pour aller tennir  
chauld à la taineturière et lui calmer ses  
phantaisies,<sup>14</sup> afin qu'elle dormist bien  
pendant la nuict, ouvraige auquel s'en-  
tendent bien les jeunes gars (*L'Apostrophe*, I, 224).

Ces dictz enfans font soubvent telles  
reparties, fiet le Parizien. Celluy de mon  
voizin descouvrit le cocquaige de son  
père par ung mot que vecy. Ung soir ie  
luy dis pour scavoir s'il estoit bien appris  
en l'eschole ez chozes de la religion:—  
Que est ce que l'esperance?—Ung gros  
harbalestrier du roy, qui entre ceans

Vne femme en absence de son mary  
ayant fait venir de nuit vn prestre pour  
la garder des esprits, & coucher avec elle,  
comme ils tabutoient & renuoyoient le  
Diable en Enfer, vn ieune enfant, âgé  
d'environ quatre ans & demy qui estoit  
dans le mesme lit, s'éueilla, & voyant ce  
Prestre, demanda à sa mere, qui c'estoit:  
La mere scauoit bien que le pere ne  
faudroit à sa venue de l'interroger, &  
que l'enfant ne faudroit de le declarer,  
elle lui fit entendre que c'estoit Dieu.  
Le pere estant de retour, & demandant  
à cet enfant, qui auoit couché avec sa  
mere, il répondit, que personne n'y

13. II, 407 ("le dyable seul, fraye et n'engendre point"); II, 436 (also *La Faulese Courtizanne*, II, 325).

14. Such comic periphrases are common in the older *conteurs*, and it would be inexact to ascribe this solely to Tabourot's inspiration.

quand mon pere en sort, fict-il. De faict le seargent des harbalestriers du roy estoit ainsi surnommé en sa compaignie. Le voisin feut quinauld d'ouir ce mot, et encore que par contenance il se contemplast au mirouere, il ne put y voir ses cornes.

Li baron fict ceste remarque que le dire de cestuy gars estoit bel en cecy: que de faict l'Espérance est une garse qui viend couchier avecque nous alors que les reallitez de la vie font deffault (*Dires incongreus* . . . , III, 171).

Though these "naïvetés d'enfant" are not uncommon,<sup>15</sup> I think it probable that Balzac has here deliberately altered his source—it is not unusual for him to do so—in order to avoid outright copying. Note especially the phrase "pour scavoir s'il estoit bien appris en l'eschole ez chozes de la religion" (cf. Tabourot's "Dieu"). The definition "Ung compromis est doncques les accordailles [fiançailles] de la iustice" (III, 123) may be a similar extension of Tabourot's obscene one, "fille qui est fiancée" (*Bigarrures*, page 68).

pour occir à tems notre amy qui pretend avoir à luy seul ce bon cordelier.— Que est cecy? dit la dame de Beauté.— Equivoquez, dit le roy en soubriant (*D'ung Iusticiard* . . . , III, 43).

auoit couché, sinon Dieu & luy. Qui fut cause que pour l'heure le fait fut fait secret: mais vn mois apres comme il auint que ce Prestre marchoit deuant la boutique de ce marchand: cet enfant l'ayant bien regardé, & se retournant vers son pere, lui dit: Voyez là Dieu qui a couché avec ma mere: Voilà comment le pot aux roses fut découuert (*Bigarrures*, pages 117–118).

C'est de long temps une *table qui frotte*, ou une *fable qui trotte*, qu'un Curé de bonne paste disoit vn iour en son Sermon, que le monde estoit tout corrompu: Car les ieunes hommes s'attachoient aux *bons Cordeliers*, & que . . . (*Bigarrures*, page 149).

For Balzac (though not for Tabourot) *équivoquer* and *contrepeteler* were synonymous:

Dans notre ancienne et si admirable littérature, équivoquer, c'était faire une contre-petterie, et contre-petter, c'était faire une équivoque; . . . L'équivoque s'obtient en renversant les termes de la proposition ou plus souvent en échangeant les lettres initiales de deux mots; Rabelais, Verville et Tabourot sont pleins de contre-petters. . . .<sup>16</sup>

A long development in Balzac's work seems to be based on Tabourot's facetious etymology, "Coquin, à *coquina*, c'est à dire cuisine: Car tout bon coquin ayme la cuisine" (*Bigarrures*, page 182):

Que estoit en ce tems, ceste grande coquedouille? . . . Douille signifie en Bretagne une fille, et coque veult dire une poisie de queulx, *coquus* en patois de lattinité. Duquel mot est advenu en France celui de coquin, ung draule qui frippe, liche,

15. See, for example, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, no. 23.

16. Balzac's note appended to the errata of the first edition of *La Physiologie du mariage* (*Œuvres*, Calmann-Lévy, XXII, 378).

trousse, frit, lappe, lippe, friquasse, friquote, se chafriole touiours et mange tout, partant ne scauroit rien faire entre ses repasts et ce faysant, devient mauvais, devient paouvre, ce qui l'incitte à voler ou mendier (III, 43).

The following may also be confronted:

et ie la quenouilleraï à chiens renfermez  
comme simple seruante en luy monstrant  
tous les uzaiges des dames de Tourayne  
(*La Fortune* . . . , III, 141).

& lors que tant eux, que le bourreau,  
furent en chemise, prests à se mettre au  
lict, ils sautèrent au collet de ce bour-  
reau, luy ostent sa chemise, & le fouet-  
tent en chien enfermé, (*Escraigne* 33,  
page 144).

In this article<sup>17</sup> I have assembled all those features (both literary and linguistic) of the *Contes drolatiques* which I think can be ascribed to the influence of Tabourot des Accords. Naturally, the examples vary in importance and in the degree of certainty of their attribution. But they are uniform in tone, showing clearly what Balzac found attractive in the work of this obscure sixteenth-century writer. Endowed with a robust sense of humor and a love of puns, twisted proverbs and unusual words and expressions, Balzac could scarcely have failed to find entertainment—and later, profit—in the coarse humor of the *Escraignes* and the verbal fireworks of the *Bigarrures*. To achieve ingenuity he was as willing as Tabourot to sacrifice good taste; and one can easily imagine his using the latter's defense: "I'ay esté lascif seulement pour estre ingenieux."<sup>18</sup> He appears to have read and reread sections of these two works, but to have skipped over the more serious *Touches* and the second book of *Bigarrures*. His familiarity with the *Bigarrures* (first book) certainly antedates the appearance (April, 1832) of the first *dixain*, since this contains at least one phrase—"aussi laide que le marmouzet d'ung cistre"—derived from them. The scarcity of borrowings in this first *dixain* suggests, though, that Balzac did not read Tabourot while he was working on it.

Looking back over Balzac's borrowings, which range from a single word to a whole story, one sees that they can be divided roughly into two main classes. The first, based on what might be called the general method of borrowing, comprises the examples of the first *dixain*, probably most of those from the third, and a few from the second. In these, Balzac has relied upon his memory to furnish him, at need, with words, expressions, or motifs. Quite often he may have been unaware of the exact source to which he was indebted, since his wide reading to "document" himself and to enrich his vocabulary had provided him with an abundant stock of assimilated words and expressions. The other method, that of direct consultation, is amply illustrated by passages of the second *dixain*, and corroborated by the

17. Based on a detailed study of the vocabulary of Balzac's stories, and a careful comparison of them with much of the earlier *conte* literature.

18. "Avant-propos" to the first book of *Bigarrures*.



novelist's own letters. Though it was certainly not unusual for him to turn to one of his models, either in search of a subject, or to refresh his memory about a particular theme or situation which he had decided to use, he rarely displays such concentrated textual borrowing. In this case, he could hope to escape immediate detection, since Tabourot was not well known. If challenged, he could also allege that storytellers had always felt free to pillage.<sup>19</sup> Probably he would also protest that he rehandled his material. And it must be admitted that he is rarely content with mere copying; generally he alters, rearranges or combines, expands and embellishes, or finds a parallel. Obviously there are no sharp divisions between the two classes of borrowing—just as there are none between borrowing and creation itself. For example, the *barbe-nez-vieille* imprecations may well be the result of both methods: recalling the passages in Tabourot, he began to imitate them; then, being pressed for time, or running short of inspiration (cf. his commonplace "*nez vieux*"), he turned directly to his newly arrived copy of Tabourot to find the epithets for his last series.

WAYNE CONNER

*Washington University*

19. Cf. his remarks in his prologues (II, 234 and IV, 247).

## JUNK < FRENCH JONC

WHILE *junk* 'rush' (attested since ca. 1400 by the *NED*) and *junket* (attested since 1382) 'a basket (originally made of rushes),' 'a cream-cheese (originally served in a rush-basket),' in the U. S. 'a banquet, a trip made at the expense of the government,' are unanimously explained by etymologists as derived from French *jonc* 'rush' and Normandian *jonquette* 'cream-cheese' respectively, no final explanation has yet been offered for the noun *junk* 'an old or inferior cable or rope; usually *old junk*' (obsolete; attested since 1445, *NED*), 'any discarded or waste material that can be put to some use' (attested since 1842, *DAE*). The *NED* states, *s.v.* *junk*<sup>2</sup>, that though there is identity of form between the two nouns *junk*<sup>1</sup> and *junk*<sup>2</sup>, there is no evidence of connection between them. Skeat had hesitantly suggested as etymon a Portuguese *junco* 'rush' to which, in the first edition of Vieyra's dictionary, there is ascribed the additional meaning 'the junk, or upper box in the pump' (an etymon accepted unquestioningly by the *Universal Dictionary* and Webster). In the second edition of Vieyra, however, the definition 'the junk . . .' (unclear also from an English point of view) has disappeared, nor do I find this listed in any Portuguese dictionary available to me; in any case, a Portuguese *junco* would not appear in fifteenth-century English in the form *junk* (with -o dropped). Again, *The New Century* dictionary and Funk and Wagnalls refer us to French *jonc* 'rush' (the first tentatively), but with no reason given. In this state of affairs a justification of the French etymology may be fitting.

It is true that no mention of English *junk* 'old cable' is to be found in the recent issue of the *FEW*<sup>1</sup> which contains, along with the French reflections of Latin *juncus* 'rush,' only English *junk* 'rush' and *junket* (< Normandian *jonquette*, which, according to von Wartburg, must, in view of English *junket*, have had the meaning 'cream-cheese' much earlier than the nineteenth century, for which the dictionary of Moisy attests it<sup>2</sup>). There are, however, two among the French reflections of *juncus* listed in the *FEW* which suggest the existence of a French *jonc* 'old cable':

1. To this entry of the *FEW* I should like to add the observation that the 13th-century French *jonc* 'wicket of a lamp' is not to be explained in the manner of von Wartburg: 'because wickets were made originally of dry rushes, or similar material'; compare rather Nemnich, *Polyglotten-Lexikon*, *s.v.* *juncus conglomeratus*, where we find the statement that the *marrow* of the rushes served as wicket.

2. By this observation von Wartburg seems to acknowledge the importance of English for the (ante-)datation of French words, a point of view often emphasized by me, which, however, was hitherto not systematically taken into consideration by the author of the *FEW*.

1. modern French *enjonquer* 'serrer avec des cordages de jonc' (given by the *Larousse* 1870-1930);

2. Bourbonnais (a dialect of the département of Allier) *jonner* 'attacher avec un jonc.'

As for the first, Jal (*Glossaire nautique*, 1848) has an entry *injonquer les voiles* which antedates the *Larousse*: (1641-42) "Pour de *Jong* [sic] pour inionquer les voiles, 12 réaux . . ." (Jal's translation being 'garnir les voiles de joncs ou rabans de ferlage'). This *injonquer*, because of its *i*-, must be an Italianism borrowed by the French nautical language, and indeed we find in the *Dizionario di Marina* of the Italian Academy (1937) an (*in*)*giuncare* 'serrare la vela con giunchi, sopra tutto delle vele latine,' attested since 1614, as well as a parallel noun *giunco* 'fionco' (i.e. a sort of cable), attested first in the year 1268 in Genoese medieval Latin as *jonchus* (a form also mentioned by Jal). Thus we see that the Italian forms *giunco* 'cable made of rushes' and *ingiuncare* 'to attach sails with such a cable' have penetrated into France—if only in the seventeenth century—and that, at least in the Mediterranean basin, cables made of rush were in use since the Middle Ages.

As to the Bourbonnais *jonner* 'to attach with ropes of rush,' this must clearly be an autochthonous form; for it must be based, not on *jonc* with *-k* still preserved (> French *joncher* 'to litter [with rush]'), but on the form *\*jon*, a form which, with its loss of final *-k*, must be a strictly French development: cf. the parallel formations *plafon*[d] > *plafonner*, *printem*[ps] > *printannier*. Now Littré, s.v. *jonc*, cites one passage from the fifteenth century prose romance *Lancelot du Lac* which contains *jonc* with the meaning 'rope': "Ces trois thoreaulx [bulls] estoient liez parmi les cols de *jons fors et tenants*." These two data, both non-nautical in origin, the Bourbonnais *jonner* and the *jonc* of the *Lancelot du Lac*, testify to a well-established French *jonc* 'rope of rush,' parallel to Middle English *russherope*, attested in 1395 (*NED*). It must then be surmised that, even before the period of the influx of Italian nautical terms, French cables were made of rush and that a French *jonc* 'cable' is at the bottom of English *junk* 'old cable.' The semantic depreciation illustrated in English may be the consequence of the abandonment of rushes in favor of the stronger hemp as material for ship cables (cf. Italian *cânapo* 'thick rope' < Latin *cannabis* 'hemp').

LEO SPITZER

The Johns Hopkins University

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## REVIEWS

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*Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter.* By Ernst Robert Curtius.  
Bern, A. Francke, 1948. Pp. 601.

From his well-remembered efforts toward a humanistic Europe in the twentieth century<sup>1</sup> and especially toward a cultural understanding between Germany and France, Ernst Robert Curtius has moved into the humbler and more painstaking labor of illustrating European unity as it centers around medieval Latin literature. His prime merit lies in placing this little-known literature side by side with well-known works in Italian, English, Spanish, French, and German. In order to prove the oneness of artistic inspiration in all examples given, he collates accepted masterpieces of European literature with those "middle-Latin" texts too often neglected by the modern literary critic and left to the linguistic, historical, or even theological specialist. The result is a vast synopsis of common traditional elements in European literature, the impressive condensation of studies which Mr. Curtius pursued and partly published in periodicals during the last two decades.<sup>2</sup>

On the one hand, he presents certain "motifs" and traces them throughout various authors who used them: *puer senex*, the saintly child whose maturity equals that of an old person, is followed from late antiquity to the seventeenth century; "writing compared to ploughing," from Plato to the late medieval *Ackermann aus Böhmen*. From the classical invocation of the Muses we are led to parodies of this invocation and to open rejection of the Muses.

On the other hand, the author groups factors of continuity in literary theory: the seven *artes*, the predominance of rhetorical and theological viewpoints in literature. Apt quotations throw new light upon the extent to which Christianity absorbed paganism and made Judaism (the Old Testament) its own. Elements are gathered for a "history of literary terminology" (page 153) in the development of words like *poiesis-poïema*, *classicus*, or categories like "prose and verse."

One theme—European unity as preserved by learned Latin writing—is thus developed along a great number of parallels, of single chronological channels, whose very abundance makes it difficult to perceive the plan intended by the author (page 385). His main theses are: the presence, in

1. *E.g.*, *Deutscher Geist in Gefahr*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1932.

2. The wealth of sources consulted and carefully listed in this volume becomes even more impressive as we consider the material difficulties met by the author; see his Preface.

the Occident, of one literary code, historically continuous from classical antiquity to modern times, and geographically continuous throughout Western Europe (this latter point is in contradiction to Hispanists who stress medieval Spain's alienation from Europe: e.g., Américo Castro, *España en su historia*); the transmission of this code through medieval Latinity rather than through direct study of ancient literature; and the extension of codified patterns into texts which were falsely considered as wholly spontaneous and used as psychological or historical sources of information (figs, palms and lions in Northern Europe, pages 189-190). Our list is yet far from exhaustive; the *Exkurse*, a voluminous appendix of 155 pages in small print, are no less interesting than the text (pages 480-497 were unfortunately missing in the reviewer's copy). The reader might have been helped if the author had separated the evolution of motifs like "priest Genius" or *locus amoenus*, from the evolution of literary theory. A minor technical imperfection is that translations from Latin, English, etc. are, for no apparent reason, sometimes given and sometimes omitted.

A climax and summation is reached in the chapter on Dante, which precedes the Epilogue. Dante appears throughout as the very substantiation of Curtius' ideas. The medieval thinker as a Christian student whom pagan antiquity teaches "by allegory," and the resultant gigantic paradox—the primordial importance accorded by the Middle Ages to the "Word" in all its manifestations, to rhetoric, writing, and reading—Dante personifies all this, and by stressing this fact, our author certainly strikes upon a keynote in the *Commedia*.

Curtius seeks social and historical cohesion.<sup>3</sup> He sides with tradition, and is thus partisan. This is in itself no flaw; a critic must stress the forgotten truth that he is advocating, and it is enough that he do so. But when he presents literature as a world of learning, of receptive and inclusive continuity, it is evidently left to the reader to add literature's other half, which is made up of naïveté and exclusive individualism.<sup>4</sup> Curtius does not quite ignore this other half, but it obviously disturbs his method: wherever spontaneous feeling or self-expression is concerned, logical contradictions arise. "It is not permissible to take a well-established literary formula for the expression of a spontaneous thought or feeling [*Gesinnung*]" (page 415); yet so specific a character detail as a "vital" love for beautiful book covers is attributed to Shakespeare (pages 336, 337, and 344, with *Lebensbezug*, pages 336 and 344) on the basis of passages whose character of "well-established literary formulas" Curtius himself demonstrates.

Confusion becomes most noticeable around the terms "classicism" and

3. Cf. Charles Du Bos on Curtius in *Approximations*, 5<sup>e</sup> série, Paris, Editions Corrêa, 1932 (pages 109-139).

4. This complementary element is discussed solely because it plays an important part in Mr. Curtius' system of appreciation, as we hope to illustrate; the question of its part in literature itself, and of its relative importance there (its possible absence from medieval literature, etc.) cannot be raised here.

"mannerism." Curtius only barely defines these when introducing them as basic for all literature (pages 275-276). "Mannerism," to him, is the opposite of, but not inferior to, "classicism": "The question of how to evaluate this transition [i.e., from classicism to mannerism] is left to the individual taste." Later again, mannerism is defended against "correct censors" who condemn it in the name of that "good taste which easily assumes a certain smack of moralism" (page 395). During the discussion, however, Curtius uses "mannerism" in exactly that bad sense which "correct censors" give it: "gross" or "downright mannerism [*krasser Manierismus*]" (page 279)—"an ingenious thought, still quite untouched by mannerism" (page 294)—"when and how the epigram degenerated into the manneristic mania for what is effective [*Pointensucht*]" (*ibid.*). He ridicules French critics who would call Spanish mannerism a "dangerous disease" (pages 296-297), yet he speaks of the "danger" (*sic*) that "in manneristic periods the *ornatus* be accumulated without choice or sense [*wahl- und sinnlos*]" (page 276). Such "accumulation," incidentally, appears as the clearest distinctive quality of mannerism to be derived from the examples (pages 276 and 280-281); and what tells us where "accumulation" starts? Good taste. "Such periphrases remain within the limits of good taste. . . . The misuse [*sic*] of the periphrasis starts with Statius" (pages 277-278).

Thus, the author refuses to draw a normative line between creators and mere reproducers, or art and mere trickery—between "the right and the wrong imitation" of the past<sup>5</sup>—yet his own distinction "classicism against mannerism" is really just such a normative line. Because this line is drawn inadvertently, as it were, its guiding principles (*e.g.*, the term "classical norm," page 275) are never discussed. An inconsistent use of ill-defined categories, then, results wherever Curtius meets the problem of spontaneity. We wholeheartedly agree with his defense of a truly humanistic criticism based upon a thorough knowledge of the classics; such criticism is our sole way of access to something which we might call here, for the sake of convenience, the "traditional" side of literature; but in order to include the "spontaneous" side, we have to add other approaches, *e.g.*, properly defined aesthetic and psychological criteria.

This necessary complement to our author's conception had to be formulated; but his work remains, in the reviewer's opinion, one of the most stimulating and illuminating in recent criticism. Modern modes of literary expression find here their older parallels, and thus the great harmony and coherence of European literature throughout time and space is shown in irrefutable detail. In that Latin literature of the Middle Ages which often seemed only to add heterogeneity to the medieval picture, Curtius convincingly finds the enlightening center of tradition in its age, the most

5. Mentioned by Professor Ernst Howald in his short but excellent comparison of Latin poetry with modern French "absolute" poetry: *Das Wesen der lateinischen Dichtung*, Zurich, Eugen Rentsch, 1948.



explicit authority on older Europe's "common theory and practice of literary expression" (page 233), and a source material whose wider use cannot but contribute greatly to the clarification of obscure passages, to future concordances and annotated editions, of non-Latin authors.

KURT SULGER

Wabash College

*Marcabru e le fonti sacri dell'antica lirica romanza.* By Guido Errante. Firenze, Sansoni, 1948. Pp. viii + 278.

In this work Errante returns to the thesis set forth in his essay on the origins of the Romance lyric, published in 1943. In a brief preface he explains his reasons for this second volume, admitting frankly, however, that the part tracing the development of Latin metrics is, though amplified, essentially the same. This is, of course, the kernel of his thesis and was carefully reviewed by scholars at the time of the publication of the first book.<sup>1</sup> Parts of the present volume are given over to a refutation of the objection of some of his critics. On the whole, I think Errante has been successful though some questions must always remain a matter of opinion.

In view of the energy and erudition displayed by the author it seems only right to give a fairly complete summary of his book which, aside from the brief notice of his purpose, contains an introduction, six chapters and two appendices. The introduction restates the general problem of the origins of the Provençal lyric and outlines the author's program. The first chapter, *Il Latino e i volgari romanzi*, has for its purpose, in the author's words,

... a dimostrare che la lirica del primo grande poeta romanzo non può interpretarsi che restituendola alle sue fonti, essenzialmente mediolatine e di scuola; come tali fonti rappresentano un tutto unito, e il loro intendimento si rifiuta a chi voglia sezionarle in religiose o spirituali e profane; come è ugualmente arbitraria, all'epoca di cui parliamo, la separazione tra idioma parlato e idioma scritto, tra volgo e clero o scuola: accennerò qui brevemente ad alcuni dei moltissimi punti che la filologia moderna vien riscoprendo e illustrando, e che dovrebbero liberare gli studi medioevali dai pregiudizi alimentatisi alla tradizione illuministico-romantica.

The second chapter, *La Teoria araba*, is given over to a demolition of the theory advanced most vigorously by A. R. Nykl in various studies beginning with the *Dove's Neck Ring* (Paris, 1931). This chapter is written with considerable polemic vigor and it seems to me that Errante is in the right, particularly if we look at the whole problem in the spirit he suggests at the end of the chapter; viz:

Chi vorrà, malgrado tutto, negare qualsiasi possibilità di influssi arabi—e di tanti altri—sui primi trovatori? Il punto controverso è circa la *prevalenza* degli influssi: le opinioni non divergono mai sui fatti, ma sull'importanza dei fatti.

1. By H. A. Hatzfeld, in the *RE*, XXXV (1944), 165-171.

The third chapter, *Dalla metrica alla ritmica latina e volgare*, is dedicated to showing, in regard to rhythmic structures,

... come cioè tutte le caratteristiche che le contraddistinguono in antico provenzale siano già compiute ed intere nella ritmica mediolatina.

Here the argument is based on theories developed by Wilhelm Meyer von Speyer with particular reference to Spanke on the manuscripts of the Abbey of St. Martial, although, in Errante's opinion, the latter's case might have been pushed somewhat further. In Chapter 4, *Le Fonti liturgiche e la "ripetizione": criterio-base per un ordinamento delle strutture ritmiche dei primi trovatori*, as its title indicates, we have the definite attempt of Errante to attach the Provençal stanza forms to liturgical origins. This is the longest preliminary chapter as it is also the most important for the author's thesis and abounds in citations. Chapter 5, *La Scuola e la lirica trovadorica: criteri aprioristici e generalizzanti d'interpretazione*, prepares the way for the analysis of the poetry of Marcabru and attacks the conventional interpretation of all Provençal poetry as variation within the framework of the doctrine of courtly love. In Chapter 6, *La Lirica di Marcabru*, the poetry of Marcabru is analyzed in detail. The contents of the two appendices, *Nota bibliografica ed esplicativa*.—*Stato attuale degli studi sulla lirica romanza delle origini*, and *Bibliografia Marcabruniana*, are made sufficiently clear by their titles.

As in his earlier work Errante displays a thorough familiarity with the field of Provençal studies. If his arguments are faulty they are certainly not so for lack of preparation and I should say at once that, in my opinion, they are not faulty. Much has been written of the origins of the Romance lyric and reviews of Errante's earlier work will have kept the argument fresh in the minds of contemporary scholars. Indeed, if for nothing else, Errante's book would be valuable for the introduction and appendices which summarize quite completely all that has been said on this question, and save to say that I find myself in agreement with the author, it is not my intention to add further comment on this matter. In the interstices of his general thesis I find a number of things which seem to me well said and worth the consideration of Provençal scholars. I like his insistence on the separate poetic identity of Provençal poets; the traditional approach too often has tended to consideration of the Provençal lyric *en bloc*, though even the casual reader must be struck by the difference in personalities as exemplified by such figures as Guilhem de Peitau, Bernart de Ventadour, and Bertran de Born. In his treatment of Marcabru there are a number of fruitful items. His discussion of animal symbolism, though brief and casual, will sharpen, I think, our appreciation of this aspect of medieval writing. I admired his analysis of *La Dousa Votz ai auzida* of Bernart de Ventadour in Chapter 4 and I wish we could have more of such exegesis. Indeed, I wish the author had attacked his analysis of Marcabru in the same way. I find

it disconcerting and confusing to jump from poem to poem in order to follow one line of the author's argument. I would have found what he has to say in his culminating chapter clearer and more convincing if he had analyzed each poem separately. Since I have now drifted into commenting on what I do not like I will add that the author's conclusions on Marcabru do not entirely satisfy me. I accept the thesis that this poet was a reformer and a satirist having much more in common with clerics and critics or critical clerics than with the conventional courtly troubadour. But I am not convinced that he was quite the scholar which Errante would make him out to be. Many of the clerical phrases and intonations in his lyrics could, it seems to me, have come from the general intellectual and spiritual climate rather than from study of specific sources. (Here I am in substantial agreement with Hatzfeld's remarks on page 165 of the review cited above.) For example, in attempting to show Marcabru's indebtedness to the Scriptures, the author offers the following example:

Solo Amors sana del male: Amars forza chi lo segue in perdizione:

[XXXI] 28-31:

*Bon' Amors porta meizina  
Per garir son compaigno,  
Amars lo sieu disciplina  
E. l met en perdicio. . .*

*Prov., I, 33:*

*Qui autem me audiverit, absque  
terrore requiescet . . . timore malorum  
sublato. . .*

*Ivi, 26-7:*

*Ego . . . in interitu vestro ridebo . . .  
cum irruerit repentina calamitas . . .  
quando venerit super vos tribulatio, et  
angustia. . .*

I don't suppose that he means us to take these passages as absolute parallels, but in this case as in a number of others, his argument would have been stronger if the illustrations did not seem rather forced.

I could wish that Errante had written in a tone more consistently objective. In the introduction he tells us that he has removed the polemic element, but nonetheless I find in some passages a rather acrimonious note which disturbs me a little since in the main it is quite unnecessary. I feel, too, that Borgese's charge of anti-Germanism may have some foundation in spite of Errante's disclaimer. Yet in all fairness the acrimony may have some justification, for Errante himself has suffered rather caustic criticism.

The faults, if faults they be, are minor. This is a sound book with a well-argued thesis and full of good things for study and reflection; not the least of its merits is that the analysis of Marcabru may well show the way to detailed studies of other Provençal poets, following similar lines of investigation and undertaken, may we hope, with equal devotion and zeal.

T. G. BERGIN

*Yale University*

*Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes.* By Roger Sherman Loomis. New York, Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xiii + 503.

In his *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* Professor Loomis adds considerably to his well-known researches into the origins of the *matière de Bretagne*, and, at the same time, provides a corrective to the "highly exaggerated notions of Chrétien's inventive powers and constructive ability" asserted by Foerster and Bruce. By drawing on his vast information concerning the *matière* in European literature and folklore of all periods, he is able to propose plausible sources for almost all the narrative themes in Chrétien's Breton romances, greatly strengthening thereby the case for Celtic, and in particular Welsh, origins, and delimiting correspondingly Chrétien's inventive role. In fact, he maintains that Chrétien's immediate sources were four long narratives in French prose, set down in manuscripts, based on the tales of the Breton *conteurs*, and that they already contained elaborate descriptions of tournaments and consistently exploited problems of sentiment and chivalric conduct.

The principal clue which enables Loomis to apportion literary credit is provided by the Welsh romances which, he affirms, are independent of the French writer. *Erec* and *Geraint* have a common source X, *Yvain* and *Owain* are based on Y, and probably X and Y are the work of an anonymous author of "unusual powers." Traditional themes and points of artistic merit common to these works are, perforce, credited to the sources.

With the help of additional testimony from other Celtic parallels, the following conclusions, here summarized as briefly as possible, are reached. In the case of *Erec* all the main themes, motivation, and construction are credited to X, except the climactic coronation scene. And again for the *Yvain*, the credit for the "architectonic feat" and most of the psychological interest goes to Y, Chrétien's most important innovation being the transposition of the duel between Yvain and Gauvain to the end of the poem to serve as an artistic climax. When we come to the *Chevalier de la Charrette*, where a Welsh parallel romance is lacking, literary criteria are of great help. The obvious defects in composition, the incoherences and irrationalities, suggest adherence to or influence of the source compilation. Following the orders of his patroness, Chrétien re-interpreted his *données* to bring them into accord with the ideals of *amour courtois*, yet actually invented very little (page 465):

But whether the Champenois poet was the first to assign this role [lover of Guenevere] to Lancelot, whether he interpolated many new scenes to illustrate the new *san*, whether he borrowed the incidents of the blood-stained bed and the misleading oath from the Tristan legend, whether, as Professor Nitze believes, he employed the rhetorical principle of *expolitió* to pad out his *matière*—these are questions to which it seems hazardous to give a categorical answer. . . . My own impression is that his originality did not extend thus far. . . .

Chrétien's role in the second command performance, the great *Conte del Graal*, is even more passive (pages 466-467):

If, as I believe, Chrétien was a man of high intelligence, literary genius, and a more than elementary knowledge of religious matters, he could not have been satisfied with the inadequate motivation, the rambling plot, the strange moral emphasis, and the fantastically uncanonical representation of the Grail as a receptacle for the Host which we discover in his romance; far less could he have invented them. We know that the choice of a source was made for him; he seems to have followed it through thick and thin, happy when he dealt with the humorous escapades of his simpleton hero or with the romance of the Maid of Little Sleeves, but somewhat embarrassed by the Blanchefflor affair, puzzled by the procession of *grail* and lance, probably even more puzzled by the casual explanation of the Hermit, finally pursuing with resigned bewilderment the erratic itinerary of Gauvain and his capricious guide, Orgueilleuse de Logres. Nowhere in all this can I discover any sign of marked independence, of addition or alteration. Just as in the *Charette* Chrétien did just what he said he did, so we can believe him when he professed to do no more with Count Philippe's book than to turn it into rime.

These quotations indicate how far Loomis is prepared to go in restricting the poet's inventive and constructive functions. His position, which results logically from his premises and methods, is buttressed by a vast amount of factual detail, calling for explanation. The reviewer believes, nevertheless, that while it is certain that Chrétien was largely dependent on Celtic sources for his narrative themes, the precise nature of his sources and of his control over them remains in doubt.

In a number of issues, matters of opinion, a shift of emphasis or an element of compromise would alter the picture considerably. In the matter of the Mabinogion controversy, the possibility exists that Chrétien exercised an indirect, if not direct, influence on the Welsh romances. There are serious difficulties involved in the process of reconstructing hypothetical sources, and specialists are not always agreed as to what are the significant elements of a story, the proper parallels and interpretations. The Grail story is a case in point.<sup>1</sup> Critics differ as to when a theme becomes part of the common stock of motifs, and when it requires a specific source. Only exceptionally can one prove a written source; oral transmission offers a ready explanation for many inadequacies in Chrétien. Allowance might be made for greater influence of Chrétien on his continuators and imitators, and for a larger element of invention on the part of authors known to have revised and re-used themes already present in their own works.

The argument that Chrétien's own artistic standards were superior to those of his products, that the literary genius was forced at times into a servile role, is legitimate and supported by evidence, but should not be

1. See Professor W. A. Nitze's *Perceval and the Holy Grail* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), which contains an excellent essay on Chrétien's literary art, and assumes that the poet actively controlled his materials.

worked too hard. What appears to us as fantastic, irrational, or geographically absurd, may have seemed to the poet either inconsequential or in keeping with the genre. It has not been possible to clear Chrétien of all blame. There remains the possibility that the compiler of *Cligès* also compiled in large part his Breton romances. Perhaps Chrétien's pride of authorship and his reputation can be explained in terms of his poetic artistry, his sophisticated touches, classical allusions, brilliant dialogues, dramatized situations, and above all his fortunate choice of authors to versify. We should, however, look more closely into the evidence for unity of authorship, identifying traits, and the presence of recurrent structural patterns. Whatever the outcome, Loomis has made a major contribution to our understanding of Chrétien and the Celtic traditions, and has put the whole matter on a more concrete basis.

LAWTON P. G. PECKHAM

Columbia University

*Deux autos méconnus de Gil Vicente.* Edités par I. S. Révah. Lisbon, 1948. Pp. 93.

*Deux "autos" de Gil Vicente restitués à leur auteur.* Par I. S. Révah. Lisbon, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1949. Pp. 79.

*Les Sermons de Gil Vicente.* Par I. S. Révah. Lisbon, 1949. Pp. 62.

In the second and most important of these pamphlets, Professor I. S. Révah, of the French Institute in Lisbon, prints two lectures delivered before the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* in which he undertakes to assign to Gil Vicente two most interesting *autos*, hitherto mysteriously anonymous: the *Obra de Geraçam humana* and the *Auto de Deus Padre e Justiça e Misericórdia*. On their intrinsic merits they deserve the honor, particularly the first *auto*, which is closely akin to Vicente's impressive *Auto da Alma*. The author convincingly places the composition of the *Auto de Deus Padre* in 1519 or 1520, that of the *Geraçam humana* in 1520 or 1521, and in so doing neatly fills a perceptible gap in Gil Vicente's artistic development as well as in his official career immediately after 1518.

Treating the two plays *en bloc*, the author bases his attribution on external as well as internal evidence, the latter including subject matter, technique and staging, language and versification, all learnedly and ingeniously reasoned, marshaled with excellent method and expressed with the elegance and clarity which characterize French lectures. Not all the arguments are equally convincing, although taken together they establish a very good case. The parallelism of certain lines in the *Obra de Geraçam* and in Vicente's *Breve Sumário da História de Deus*, for instance (pages 48 ff.), can hardly be called close, and others between the *Deus Padre* and Vicente's *Mofina Mendes*, which are assumed but not quoted, do not seem to warrant a conclusion. The metrical arguments, however, are of considerable weight (pages 49 ff.). The author notes that both the *argumento* of Vicente's *Auto da Alma* and the *Obra de Geraçam humana* correctly present the group of



four Doctors of the Church. In the body of the *Auto da Alma*, however, Saint Gregory is replaced by Saint Thomas, who was not proclaimed "Doctor of the Church" until 1568. The passage is found to be metrically defective, and the author is probably right in explaining this as a "flagornerie . . . à l'égard des Dominicains" on the part of Luis Vicente, editor of the *Copilaçam* of 1562. With regard to the earliest prints of the anonymous *autos*, we are inclined to agree that before 1560, Germain Gaillard, through fear of the Inquisition, may have credited them to *hum (muy) famoso autor* while knowing them to be by Gil Vicente. It is not so easy to understand why Vicente's children, in spite of their evident "incurie," should not also have been aware of this, and why in that case they did not include the *autos* in the edition of 1562, when fear of the Inquisition, thanks to Queen Catherine, had been removed. However that may be, we might now suggest that the printing of the *Obra de Geraçam humana*, formerly placed between 1536, the date of the framework on the title-page, and 1560, which marks the end of Galharde's activities, might now be tentatively put after 1551, date of the intimidating *Index* of Dom Henrique, and 1560. Close typographical study may reveal the printer of the only copy of the *Auto de Deus Padre*, which in the author's opinion "semble postérieure à 1560," although possibly printed from an earlier edition by Gaillard. Incidentally, according to Anselmo, nr. 609, the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Lisbon has two copies of the *Obra de Geraçam humana*.

The edition of the two *autos*, unfortunately in very small print, introduces modern punctuation and capitalization and corrects obvious errors, but duly registers all modifications in an appendix. A comparison with a few pages of the original of the *Obra de Deus Padre* shows that the reproduction has been very carefully done (lines 1103, 1129 originally read *em*, not recorded in the appendix; line 1143 should read *Empeça[d]* or *Empeçd*).

The study on *Les Sermons de Gil Vicente* offers a close critical analysis of Joaquim de Carvalho's *Os Sermões de Gil Vicente e Arte de pregar*, now a part of his *Estudos sobre a Cultura Portuguesa do Século XVI*, Volume II, Coimbra, 1948, in which he argued that Gil Vicente was not an autodidact, but must have frequented some Latin school; that he was familiar with the technique of the *Artes predicandi* and that he was notably influenced by Saint Augustine. The author, not without strictures on Professor de Carvalho's methods and accuracy, meets his arguments fairly, sometimes trenchantly, and concludes that "il faut chercher les véritables sources de l'œuvre du génial poète-orfèvre dans le folklore, les traditions populaires, la littérature de l'ensemble de la Péninsule, et dans l'infinité de thèmes et d'idées que la liturgie, la prédication et l'iconographie médiévales mettaient à la portée de tout artiste, pour ne pas dire de tout fidèle."

In all these studies the author shows an excellent command of his subject, extending even to American learned publications.<sup>1</sup>

1. He has taken part in organizing a *Centre d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais*, under the auspices of the French Institute in Portugal, which plans to publish a *Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais*. Address: 11, Rua Santos-o-Velho, Lisbon.

In a field where up to date and exact scholarship still has great opportunities, much may be expected of his learning, talent and initiative. The *Notas Vicentinas* of Carolina Michaëlis may now find the use for which they were intended and the long hoped for edition of Gil Vicente according to modern standards may become a reality.

JOSEPH E. GILLET

*University of Pennsylvania*

*Der italienische Humanismus.* By Eugenio Garin. Bern, A. Francke, 1947. Pp. 295.

This study, written by one of the best experts in the field and elegantly translated from the Italian manuscript into German by Giuseppe Zamboni, contains a survey of Italian thought from Petrarch to Bruno and Campanella and probably constitutes the best contribution to the subject that has been published in German for a long time. The author does not attempt to be complete, yet he has something to say on practically every major author in the period, and although he intentionally concentrates on moral and cultural problems, he touches on many other philosophical aspects. Every page reveals subtle judgment and sound learning, and the wealth of well-selected quotations and references makes of this book a most valuable source of information especially since it also draws on manuscript sources and on very recent studies. The book as a whole impresses the reader with the variety and novelty of its subject matter rather than with the clarity of its arrangement or of its underlying concepts, especially since there is no comprehensive introduction or conclusion. The very choice of the title is somewhat misleading since the term "humanism" is no less ambiguous or controversial than the term "Renaissance," and since it usually does not cover, even when carefully defined, the philosophical thought of the sixteenth century. And interesting as Renaissance statements on eloquence and philosophy, on the active and contemplative life or on the relative value of the various sciences are, not every such statement should be taken as a personal confession of its author, without paying some attention to its classical sources or to the rhetorical purpose which it may serve in its particular context. In a literature admittedly pervaded by classical quotations and rhetorical commonplaces one statement or opinion often occurs alongside of a dissimilar or even opposite one on the same point, and it is not always easy to tell which of them is more characteristic of the author or of the time. The German translation reads very well indeed though such words as "Geisteswissenschaften," "Innerlichkeit," "einfuehlen," "Zucht," "Kommunikation" with their peculiar connotations are hardly adequate for the description of Renaissance thought. Since this study has never been published in its original Italian form, it must be valued as an independent contribution that takes its place with Professor Garin's

other works, such as *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* (1937), *Filosofi italiani del Quattrocento* (1942), and *La Filosofia* (2 vols., 1947).

PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER

Columbia University

*Diderot Studies*. Edited by Otis E. Fellows and Norman L. Torrey. Syracuse University Press, 1949. Pp. xiv + 192.

La gloire de Diderot est un étrange paradoxe. Il a été loué avec conviction par les plus grands, de Goethe à Balzac et à Baudelaire. Il a été imité, parfois pillé. Mais il est resté mystérieux et jusqu'à ces derniers temps fort peu exploré. Il y a un quart de siècle, le seul bon livre sur lui était en allemand. Montesquieu, Voltaire et Rousseau étaient rituellement traités comme les trois géants du dix-huitième siècle, et Diderot relégué à un rang de mineur. D'aucuns avaient protesté sans doute. Les Goncourt, dans leur livre *Idées et sensations*, avaient écrit: "Voltaire est immortel; Diderot n'est que célèbre. Pourquoi? Voltaire a enterré le poème épique, le conte, le petit vers et la tragédie; Diderot a inauguré le roman moderne, le drame, et la critique d'art. L'un est le dernier esprit de l'ancienne France; l'autre est le premier génie de la France nouvelle." Michelet, qui n'a point marchandé à Voltaire son admiration, avait célébré en Diderot un "vrai Prométhée" et qualifié son œuvre de "source immense et sans fonds. On y puisa cent ans. L'infini y reste encore." Baudelaire, fin connaisseur du dix-huitième siècle, avait dès 1848, dans une note précédant la traduction de "Révélation magnétique" de Poe qui parut dans la *Liberté de Penser* (II, 176), caractérisé l'originalité de Diderot romancier, opérant la création de sa méthode, s'appliquant "à noter et à régler l'inspiration et de parti-pris utilisant sa nature enthousiaste, sanguine et tapageuse." Car Diderot était déjà Valéryen.

C'est à l'érudition américaine que reviendra l'honneur d'avoir entrepris sur Diderot une série d'enquêtes systématiques qui permet enfin de parler avec un peu plus de sûreté de la philosophie, de la morale, de la critique, de la technique romanesque, des images de Diderot. Beaucoup certes reste à entreprendre, et il appartiendra à Herbert Dieckmann de faire le point et de suggérer les études encore à venir. Mais la reconnaissance de tous les chercheurs va déjà à Norman Torrey, dont l'impulsion généreuse et l'enthousiasme communicatif ont déterminé de belles vocations de Diderotiens. Otis Fellows l'a puissamment secondé, et c'est de lui qu'est venue l'impulsion qui a suscité cet ouvrage. L'amour que portent au Philosophe ses admirateurs d'Amérique est parfois jaloux; ils l'aiment comme on aime souvent, c'est-à-dire contre, et Rousseau pâtit de leur ardeur pour le fils du coutelier. Une coterie holbachique d'Américains enthousiastes s'est reformée autour de Diderot; elle retrouve tout le monde moderne dans ce génie prophétique, comme d'autres le font pour Balzac ou pour Goethe.

Les grandes choses, même en érudition, ne se font ainsi que par de petits groupes dont la ferveur devient bientôt contagieuse. Diderot lui-même eût aimé de se voir étudié avec cette piété amoureuse, lui qui comparait l'homme sans passion à un instrument dont on a coupé les cordes.

Le présent ouvrage vise à servir la renommée de Diderot en Amérique, car il est honteux qu'il ne se trouve pas de biographie ou d'étude générale de ce prodigieux personnage dans les librairies américaines. Il réussira dans quelque mesure. Mais il est regrettable que le chapitre d'introduction ne soit pas plus ample, plus substantiel, disons même plus éloquent. Une synthèse, vigoureusement brossée, de l'actualité de Diderot n'eût pas été déplacée ici.

Les sept études qui composent l'ouvrage sont de valeur inégale. La première, "Diderot's Fictional Worlds," aborde un beau sujet avec plus d'audace que de vraie pénétration. Elle cite avec intempérance, fuit la logique trop pédestre, bondit non sans décousu des romans de Diderot à ceux de Conrad et de Joyce. Quelques aperçus de détail ne sont pas dépourvus d'ingéniosité. L'ensemble manque par trop de méthode et étale quelque naïveté sophistiquée. Est-ce d'ailleurs un grand titre de gloire pour l'auteur de *Jacques le fataliste* que d'avoir devancé Virginia Woolf, dont les livres datent déjà? Nous croyons trop volontiers grandir les écrivains du passé en les appelant modernes, c'est-à-dire semblables à l'image de nous-mêmes que nous regardons complaisamment dans notre miroir. Diderot est plus que moderne: il renferme en lui une multiplicité de sens divers dont certains resteront vrais quand nos modes passagères seront oubliées.

Les essais qui suivent sont heureusement plus précis que celui-là, et montrent qu'il vaut parfois mieux faire de la bonne critique historique que de transcender l'histoire pour affirmer avec véhémence ou planer dans des nuages qui peuvent être fumeux. Edward Geary, avec modestie mais avec précision et concision, démêle ingénieusement les fils embrouillés autour de la publication d'un conte de Diderot, les *Deux amis de Bourbonne*. Otis Fellows et Alice Green jettent quelque lumière sur les analogies et les relations entre Diderot et le curieux abbé Dulaurens, l'auteur du *Compère Matthieu*, non sans quelques longueurs et quelques digressions un peu molles. Pierre Oustinoff apporte des notes sobres et suggestives sur un grand sujet qu'il devrait un jour reprendre, la fortune de Diderot en Russie. Milton Seiden, avec une méthode très sûre et une agréable fermeté dans le style et dans les conclusions, montre combien Diderot a peu inventé et combien il a emprunté au personnage réel, tel que d'autres indications nous le dépeignent, pour tracer le portrait du neveu de Rameau. Ce sont là de fort utiles contributions à notre connaissance de Diderot.

Deux essais sont d'une portée plus ample. "From Deist to Atheist" par Aram Vartanian s'efforce de saisir le secret de la déconcertante évolution de Diderot entre 1746 et 1749, lorsque le philosophe passe successivement du déisme au scepticisme et à l'athéisme. Les termes sont définis avec une louable précision; l'influence considérable des sciences biologiques et de

Buffon, éloignant Diderot d'une vue froide et mécaniste des choses et d'un déisme conventionnel, est bien marquée. "Le déiste," dira plus tard De Bonald, "est l'homme qui n'a pas assez de courage pour être athée." Avec la *Lettre sur les aveugles* en 1749, l'homme qui devait pousser le beau cri "Elargissez Dieu!" s'est rangé à l'athéisme et en dégage la poésie. L'étude aurait gagné à un peu plus de clarté et de simplicité de forme, mais elle a du prix.

L'article d'Anne-Marie de Commaille sur "Diderot et le symbole littéraire" est le meilleur du livre: il est écrit avec vivacité, composé avec entrain, aboutit à des conclusions sages, rassemble des citations frappantes, et méritera d'être repris lorsqu'on s'attaquera sérieusement aux cent problèmes curieux que pose à l'esthéticien l'histoire de la notion de symbole avant les Symbolistes. Chose curieuse, les prémisses de la démonstration sont des plus frêles: Mlle de Commaille part d'un livre prétentieux et fort contestable, celui d'Eméric Fiser sur le *Symbole littéraire*, livre qui a le tort, entre autres, de voir dans Bergson le philosophe du mouvement symboliste, vue, on le sait, contraire aux faits et même à l'esprit de l'histoire littéraire. Mais elle utilise habilement la conception du "symbolisme dynamique," ce qui désigne avec une élégance douteuse la connaissance intuitive, pour interpréter à cette lumière ce que l'on pourra appeler le symbolisme de Diderot. De plus en plus, on nous prouvera que les vrais symbolistes ont tous vécu avant, ou après ceux qui entre 1885 et 1895 se sont parés en France de ce nom.

Il était inévitable qu'un ouvrage fait de sept études diverses fût inégal, inévitable aussi que, issu de travaux d'étudiants, il sentît parfois l'apprenti. Ces jeunes auteurs citent trop, surtout trop de critiques leurs prédécesseurs, souvent d'ailleurs pour les reprendre; ils multiplient les notes, qui sont au nombre de six cents ou presque pour cent cinquante-cinq pages de textes; ils n'ont pas encore atteint à une simplicité et à une clarté modestes dans leur style. Enfin ils ont laissé bien des fautes d'impression et surtout d'accent (Mayoux écrit Mayous page 1, conduire sans *e* page 7, Lamarckien sans *c* page 60, fût sans accent au subjonctif page 111, etc.). Mais ces menues taches ne nuisent pas sérieusement à un bon livre, fait avec enthousiasme et avec amour, et qui permet de bien augurer des jeunes générations de chercheurs en Amérique. Diderot est décidément naturalisé dans le Nouveau Monde, et l'auteur du *Rêve de D'Alembert*, sinon des *Bijoux indiscrets*, est honorablement fait docteur de l'Université Columbia. Nous applaudissons à cet ouvrage, et pour ce qu'il apporte, et pour ce qu'il représente: comme naguère autour de Dargan et de Paul Hazard à Chicago, il est bon que nos séminaires d'études puissent de temps à autre susciter ainsi des volumes collectifs. Souhaitons que d'autres volumes vaillent celui-ci.

La présentation même de l'ouvrage est une nouveauté. Le livre est, non pas imprimé de la manière traditionnelle, mais selon le procédé appelé en anglais "varitype" ou en anglais plus révolutionnaire "nomic" ("no metal

in composition"). Le résultat n'est nullement désagréable à l'œil, encore que dans le cas présent l'accentuation des très nombreux mots français ait constitué un problème et une dépense. Le prix, trop haut encore, par page imprimée, est néanmoins plus bas que celui de l'impression ordinaire, devenue exorbitante. Les Presses de l'Université de Syracuse méritent d'être félicitées pour leur initiative, heureuse à plus d'un titre.

HENRI PEYRE

*Yale University*

*Correspondance générale de Sainte-Beuve. Volume VI (1845-1846). Edité par Jean Bonnerot. Paris, Editions Stock, Delamain et Boutelleau, 1949. Pp. 620.*

With this new volume of his monumental edition, M. Bonnerot brings Sainte-Beuve through his election to the Academy, his break with the Oliviers, his withdrawal from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the death of young Charles Labitte, the confusion of Hugo in the matter of Mme Billart, and the placing of *Port-Royal* on the *Index*. They were busy hard years for the critic. The *Portraits contemporains* had to be put through the press; he was trying to bring the *Globe* group together on a new (projected) review; he was so short of money he had to borrow from Charles Magnin; and the industrious Alphonse Karr had ferreted out and announced the existence of the *Livre d'amour*! He was harassed, confused, irritated, sensitive—a difficult and demanding friend, a dangerous adversary.

The letters themselves are perfunctory even for Sainte-Beuve, and it is doubtful if there was ever a less exciting correspondent. But the editor has enframed the letters in such a wealth of relevant detail that—as is equally true of the other volumes for the years they cover—he furnishes almost a day by day account of the literary life of the moment as it affected Sainte-Beuve. In his scholar's humility, M. Bonnerot has taken for granted that few readers will follow him from cover to cover, and has arranged his book to be entered by way of the index. Thus for the benefit of a reader who may be interested only in a given letter, he may repeat any amount of information which the end-to-end reader has already seen three, four or five times. Yet it is inconceivable that a serious specialist in the period should not undertake, at whatever cost in effort, the complete reading.

Few scholarly periodicals can afford a full-length review of each of M. Bonnerot's volumes, and it is possible here only to welcome and call attention to this one, and to promise more adequate consideration when the remaining twenty-three years of Sainte-Beuve's life are covered. Meanwhile, such fervent students of Sainte-Beuve as remain in spite of recently renewed attacks on the critic's reputation may congratulate themselves on the fact that in a year or so it will be possible to correct, page by page

1. In spite of appearances, there is no break in the years covered to 1846; the date 1843, on the cover and title page of *V*<sup>1</sup> is an error—the letters in this volume are of 1844.



and line by line, Michaud's famous thesis, which, though still a standard tool, dates from 1902.

W. M. FROHOCK

Columbia University

*Mallarmé's Un Coup de dés: An Exegesis.* By Robert Greer Cohn. New Haven, Yale French Studies, 1949. Pp. 139.

Mallarmé's last and most controversial poem consists of some 656 words, but a tower of Babel of exegeses has already risen about it. His close associates emitted discreet appreciations that respected its poetic explosiveness. For Valéry, it reflected "the very text of the silent universe: a text full of clear meanings and enigmas; as tragic, as impersonal as desired; which speaks out and not; woven with manifold senses; which brings together order and disorder; proclaims a God as powerfully as it denies him; holds in its unimaginable whole all epochs, each associated with the fading off of a celestial body . . ." (*Variété* II). With less rhetoric, André Gide saw it "as a strangely projecting, very lofty promontory beyond which there is only night—or the sea and sky at dawn." It affected him "with an emotion very like that a Beethoven symphony gives," and he described it as "the animation of a duration . . ." (Mondor, *Vie de Mallarmé*). Mallarmé himself aimed to give the apex of his concept the "rhythm of a constellation" (letter to Gide), seeking to fuse together and reflect by internally architectural as well as externally typographical aspects, symphonic as well as dramatic and choreographic modulations in the poem. More specifically, speaking of the *Grand Œuvre* which had become the obsession of his life, he defined it as "The Orphic explanation of the Earth, which is the only duty of the poet and the literary sport in the highest sense of the word: for the very rhythm of the book, impersonal and living then, even in its pagination, is juxtaposed to the equations of this dream—or Ode" (*Autobiographie*). This was a thing which, at the time he expressed it, November 16, 1885, even he could not, he feared, accomplish—"one would have to be I know not who or what"—though he hoped "to show a fragment of it written, to cause some corner of it to sparkle in its glorious authenticity . . ." (*ibid.*).

*Un Coup de dés* is the scintillating fragment, the page raised "to the power of the starry heavens," of which Valéry spoke, and which, when Mallarmé read it to him, evoked in him resistance and wonder that drew from the master the ironic query: "Don't you find it is an act of madness?" a question he himself seems to have wished to answer with his remark to Camille Mauclair: "It will not make you feel dizzy than it did me."

Valéry's reaction of resistance and wonder has been echoed down the years. With all the sympathy he could muster, the excellent critic Henri Clouard could only see, in 1924, "an unknown algebra" in it, "a vast typographical phantasy . . . unfolded around a faintly desired, coldly ideological

reply to *La Bouteille à la mer*," (*Poésie française moderne*); and in 1947, an "allusion to a work whose contents remain unspoken," and "a metaphysical velleity where all the lyricism of old is drowned" (*Histoire de la littérature française du symbolisme à nos jours*, I).

Dr. Edmond Bonriot in the preface to *Igitur*, in 1925, pointing out the analogy between it and *Un Coup de dés*, its apparent later metamorphosis, observed that whereas in the former the young hero "believes the consciousness he has attained of himself so perfect that it abolishes Chance," the contrary is true in the latter, where the old Master perishes and only "Chance subsists," except for a flicker of light, a challenge, a constellation—in chaos. But he had added: "One does not explain Mallarmé, one feels him and loves him."

Came Thibaudet who read in the poem the tragedy of the poet's own destiny. The absolute creative act, the *Grand Œuvre*, for which the romantic poet looked to inspiration, Mallarmé sought in . . . himself, becoming sterile in his search for that elusive *état de grâce*, "by the antagonism of dream in man with the fatality of his existence bestowed by misfortune" (*Divagations*), in other words Chance. Reason can follow and master its laws only to a point, beyond which lies mystery, an abyss, when the pen falls from the hand, as the feather in the poem into the deep. Mallarmé "reduces the world to the simplicity of the Poet facing the enigma of a blank page," concludes Thibaudet (*La Poésie de Stéphane Mallarmé*), after observing first that he "is mistaken when he imagines he is constructing *Un Coup de dés* on a purely intellectual subject. The work rises from the deepest anguish. . . ."

Camille Soula in his turn read in the poem the idea that every human act, as an act of faith in the virtue of Number—subject itself to Chance—is illusory and futile in the universe. "It is indisputable," he stated, "that Stéphane Mallarmé did not at all wish to deal with even a philosophical and quite abstract *subject* like the theory of numbers"; and he concluded rather superficially: "The work does not aim to have any precise sense . . ." (*La Poésie et la pensée de Stéphane Mallarmé*).

The somewhat labored commentary attempted by Hasye Cooperman (*The Aesthetic of Stéphane Mallarmé*) did not penetrate deeper into the arcana of the poem. She saw in it "nothing more than the plot . . . of *Igitur*," and "the comedy of the human intellect," frustrated and shipwrecked, struggling to master its doom and eternity, and aware at last that it is at the mercy of Chance. "And that which confuses the poet is that each thought, in itself, emits a cast of dice," she adds inconclusively.

More succinctly, E. Noulet—who observes that "Regarding Mallarmé one is always impious however one discusses him," (*Dix Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*)—points out that whereas in *Igitur*, the hero, or Mallarmé, though unable to conceive the absolute still believes that "to defeat nothingness a poet needs but speak," in *Un Coup de dés* "he no longer believes that men's enemy is their silence. Their enemy is Chance" (*L'Œuvre poétique de Stéphane Mallarmé*).

An excess of zeal rather than impiety misleads Claude Roulet, in his *Elucidation du poème de Stéphane Mallarmé*, to see in it "a transposition of the Fable of the world, as defined in the Bible and through the body of Christian beliefs," and "Christian eschatology." He pictures God the Father as the Master, His Son as Number—although he also dissects Number as "a superficial manifestation of matter," and the divine dynasty doomed by *Hasard* to extinction—save for its reintegration into mystic space, a Constellation. He believes Mallarmé wished to write "like Nietzsche a work which paralleled the Holy Scriptures and which frustrated them of part of the religious respect they inspire in men," a work that required, besides, like the Bible, its own scholiasts "who would themselves labor long to make the exegesis of *Un Coup de dés*." Indeed, scholastic license could scarcely be more extravagant, despite much talent.

But let us come to Mr. G. R. Cohn, whose epistemological exegesis moves at least in a recognizable Mallarmean groove. Concerning his poem, Mallarmé himself spoke of its "spontaneous and magic architecture," and "purposely mysterious, powerful, and subtle design," further betraying the secret of his art by writing: "I say there exists between the old method (of magic) and the sorcery that poetry will continue to be a secret parity; I express it here and perhaps I have personally delighted in showing it, with essays, in a measure that has exceeded my contemporaries' willing aptitude to find pleasure in it" (*Divagations*). He stressed the "incantatory trait" of the verse, and the words in it, the letters of which, as for the cabalists, were the keys to an occult interpretation of the Zodiac and universe. "With its twenty-four signs," he wrote, "Literature designated precisely Letters, as well as by multiple fusions into the phrase, then the verse, a system disposed like a Spiritual Zodiac, implies its own doctrine, abstract and esoteric like some theology." (See *Nouvelle Revue Française*, January 1929.)

Taking his cue from the poet, Mr. Cohn turned to a study of those very keys to interpret the occult universe expressed in the poem. "The word," Mallarmé wrote, "is like flesh in its vowels and diphthongs; and like a delicate skeleton to dissect in its consonants" (*Les Mots anglais*). Mr. Cohn has attempted to dissect the words and letters in the poem to get at its "Spiritual Zodiac." He studies, on the one hand, through their syntax, polarity, and structure, the approximative ideograms of its several pages, each corresponding, in his view, to a level in the hierarchy of science and art—all ending in page 11 with a return to nothingness, save for the final constellation, last view of a fading universe, "till the game is up"—and, on the other, through their syntactic, linear, circular, and ramifying aspects, the shapes, movements, and sounds of lines, words, letters and their synthesis of drama, music, and dance into poetry, with "Mallarmé himself the great actor or hero of humanity." His total picture is that of life's attempt to rise through nature, its defeat and effort next to conquer all through art, for "the end is not yet as long as the writing continues," and its final disappearance with material reality shrinking "to the near-original cluster of stars of the universe . . . contracting towards . . . some final unity."

This not particularly startling interpretation is less interesting, however, than the epistemological paraphernalia Mr. Cohn sets up to derive it. He scrutinizes phonologically and semantically the syntax, direction, and sex of page and phrase, and the shape, sound, and sex of word and letter. A few typical examples will illustrate this philological approach. "Thus a single (*un*) *coup* on Page 1," he writes, "is on the one hand clearly male in being at the top of a Page, a crest, convex; but if it is male in vertical opposition to female trough at the bottom of Page 2, it is nonetheless female in horizontal opposition to the reality which will follow it (including, paradoxically, the trough on Page 2 itself); in other words, the first male *coup* is the creation of the universe, which creation is the *sile* or womb, and as such profoundly female, for its children-events."

"The history of sexuality," he declares, "may be conveniently viewed as an aspect of the Mallarmé cycle." The Master in the poem "mates with *la mer—la mère*. . . ." "On Page 3 the ideogram offers, in addition to other willed possibilities, a gigantic pen and ink-well, the male and female, as it were, of the act." His analysis of words and letters follows the same pattern. He looks upon the letter *i* as the axis of Mallarmé's secret art. "The letter *i* stands, always, for masculinity, *u* for its inversion-in-process into femininity, for *i* is convex, *u* concave. . . ." "The tiny *i*," he says further, "(or its dot) is the Poem of all," and *o* holds second place, female—cf. *womb*. The *i*, in the Elzevir type Mallarmé used, "resumes all paradoxical reality in being rigid 'male' and twisting 'female'. . . ." In the phrase *sous une inclinaison*, "Eros peeps through the word *inclinaison*," he states. "Behind all this lies the confusion of Eros and Thanatos. . . ." In *Abtme*, the two were united; but they are divided in *Nombre*, "and *N* thus stands for the negation of *ombre* in *Nombre*." But "the word *Nombre*, though it represents Eros, contains the seeds of its own 'defeat' in the feminine element *ombre* (*omb*) . . ." which "plunges vertically—ironic revenge—into HASARD."

Equally typical and illuminating to Mr. Cohn in his epistemology are syllables like *con* of *circonstances* and *elles* of *éternelles*. "The phrase as a whole" of *aux durs os perdus entre les ais*, has, he says, "another direct significance which needs no indication (note *p* and *per* and *u*)," although he volunteers it in a footnote as "l'excès de l'amour," quoting Vico. "The little phrase *Comme si*, he finds, "is composed of a word in *o* and word in *i*, base and shaft of the 'ivory tower,'" of which, he says, "Mallarmé pictured himself . . . as the steeple of art or the top of the steeple," and the basement of which, like "Dante's hell and Finnegans' nightmare . . . forms a circle, repeating the self-involvement of art and artist as compared to straight-marching bourgeois 'Shauns' with their skyscrapers and motorboats." The poem's "final poetico-metaphysical vision," on another level, "is the dot on the *i*, the last rock, monument, palace, tombstone left behind by the combination of all the arts in the Work." "The final version of the paradox of Art-Nature is expressed in the fact that the dot over the *i* is both the

Work issuing from the head of the Poet (top of the *i*) and also the rock which he leaves behind him, at his disappearing feet."

Enough has been quoted to illustrate Mr. Cohn's epistemological line, about which, he says, the "magnificent opening sentence of *Finnegans Wake* bears out convincingly our letter analysis . . ." and for which, however, he claims a modest share of credit. "The dual-polar version (of paradox) is rare," he writes, "and I am aware of only two *conscious* descriptions beyond my own: in Kabbalism and Mallarmé. . . . The epistemology which includes the concept of multi-polarity was developed independently by myself in an M.A. thesis in 1947. I realized that it could not have waited for me so I began looking for ancestors. The first I found was—my favorite poet, Mallarmé . . . Lévi was the next, and I then realized that the concepts are old indeed, forming the central arcana of Kabbalism (*e.g.* dual-polarity = tetragrammaton)." Mallarmé did, indeed, know of, or read Eliphas Lévi's *Dogme et rituel de haute magie* which Villiers indicated to him, and he no doubt was quite impressed by its cabalistic ideas and cant. But surely not to the extent of revolutionizing his intellectual and poetic outlook. This was rather the result of inner, spiritual gestation, which ended by identifying his destiny with that of the universe, climaxing the three critical periods of mental anguish and dejection he underwent from 1862 to 1866, periods of melancholia, creative sterility, and, he feared, even the threat or shadow of insanity, at the end of which, however, he wrote to Cazalis: "I have elaborated my thought and formulated it into a Divine Conception. All that, as a consequence, I have suffered, during this long agony, is unutterable, but fortunately I am quite dead, and the most impure region where my Mind can venture is Eternity. . . . Unfortunately, I have come to that point through a horrible sensitiveness. . . . You must know that I am impersonal now, and no longer the Stéphane you knew—but an aptitude the spiritual universe has of seeing and expanding itself through what was me. . . ." In brief, he had committed, after two years of "frightful suffering," as he wrote to Coppée, "the sin of seeing Dream in all its ideal nakedness. . . . And now, having had the horrible vision of a pure work, I have nearly lost the reason and sense of the universe moral words. . . ."

His poetic concept of the universe was not thus the outcome of cabalistic or purely metaphysical cogitations, but the result of an inner "horrible vision" and travail. Mr. Cohn pictures him as a "metaphysician of the very highest order," in contradiction to Maugclair who asserted: "I don't believe Mallarmé had what is called a philosophical mind and that he read the philosophers, the psychologists, and the metaphysicians much"—though he also referred to him as "the most significant figure of Hegelianism applied to art." Valéry likewise observed that Mallarmé was "without scientific culture or leaning," though he ventured into its heights by "the boldness and depth of his mind," a statement that corroborates André Fontainas' estimate of his master's undertaking as the "revelation of the

universe." Despite his elaborate epistemological contrivances, Mr. Cohn does not come up with any startling revelation of the "Orphic explanation of the World." The poem, he concludes, is "the story of the birth, life, and death of the universe." Expressed one way or another that much every exegete and reader of Mallarmé had already understood. Writing recently, Irwin Edman explained: "The epistemologist tries to tell what it is and how it is he knows, / He aims to correct the illusions of these and the errors of those, / To indicate some way out / To a rock safe from doubt, / Though he does not precisely declare / How one knows that one knows that one's there." Mr. Cohn is categorical about his system, however. "It is evident already what an epistemologically-controlled esthetics should do with terms like romantic and classic," he writes in the middle of his thesis, "just when," André Gide would retort, "we were beginning to know very well what they meant" (*Anthologie de la poésie française*).

It is not unreasonable to believe with Marcel Raymond as regards Mallarmé's poems that "several legitimate interpretations can be proposed in certain cases . . ." (*De Baudelaire au Surréalisme*). Mr. Cohn seems to admit no such leeway. He studies the poem with "blindness" on, either neglecting previous efforts in the field—Cooperman's dissertation (1933), or Dr. Jean Fretet's essay (*L'Aliénation poétique*, 1946)—or dismissing them cavalierly, as with Charles Mauron's study, of which he says: "I am forced into making my brashest assertions: psychoanalysis is no way to deal with a man who anticipated the syntactical vision of James Joyce," although it is not clear that the erotic symbolism of his own exegesis is in contradiction to it. His rather intemperate strictures against French criticism do him no credit. He declares Valéry's alleged "virtual silence" on the poem "largely a consequence of its power," and Claudel's opinion on the subject a "*bien pensant* variation on the same theme," charging others with having "veiled (Mallarmé) in an ark," and with asserting "there's probably nothing in it." "I do not wish to imply," he adds, "that French criticism is bankrupt, even with special regards to our poet: the Frenchmen I mention have done very good work in other realms and with Mallarmé's lesser writings (though the essential Mallarmé has eluded them all in various indispensable aspects); but because of its difficulty *Un Coup de dés* has been a blind spot."

Regarding Mallarmé's predecessors and disciples he is equally impatient or peremptory. He sets the poet "so far above all his coevals and immediate predecessors that he seems hardly to have been influenced by them at all." He spurns Baudelaire's "posturings and morbid anecdotal impurities," and "conceivably, some nostalgic professor's" reference to Victor Hugo. As for Mallarmé's influence, he finds none, save in Valéry's "melodious rhetorical formulae . . . which, however, cave-dwellers" (like "some nostalgic professor" perhaps) "mistake for the original thing." Mallarmé is a god of whom he seems to regard himself as the only true prophet—"our great and revered, our saintly initiator," Fontainas had already written—and *Un Coup de dés* he considers "a universal masterpiece and as such to be com-



pared with only a picked few creations by such prime figures as Dante, Shakespeare, Dostoievsky, and Joyce." However, for those who have not already been touched by its magic grace, Mr. Cohn's analysis does not render it more accessible; his love for it is not contagious; he does not breathe life into his exegesis as Thibaudet did. To say that it is "nothing less than the genesis and fall of reality" is no literary bait, nor, except for the few, that it is Mallarmé's *Finnegans Wake*.

For Mallarmé, as for St. John, "in the beginning was the word," and he might have added, "in the end also." In between lies the tragedy of human life, and, beyond, chaos or Chance. *Un Coup de dés* says that in a cryptic way that nonplusses and routs the uninitiated, and Mr. Cohn's epistemological paraphernalia do not make it easier to approach. I do not, however, wish to underestimate the merit of this painstaking thesis which is, unfortunately, more difficult to read than Mallarmé's own poem, and, alas, less rewarding. Mr. Cohn's scholarship is genuine, even brilliant and deserving of serious consideration. But it would profit his exegesis more were he to cast off his "blindings" and use it less dogmatically.

S. A. RHODES

*The City College, New York*

*Charles Du Bos and English Literature.* By Angelo Philip Bertocci. New York, King's Crown Press, 1949. Pp. 285.

A écrire sur Charles Du Bos un livre qui, évitant une simple exploration extérieure de son œuvre, s'efforçât d'atteindre la source profonde de son inspiration, il fallait, avec cette sympathie plus ici qu'ailleurs nécessaire pour l'auteur, une sagacité, une pénétration et même une espèce de talent intuitif presque égales à celles dont Du Bos lui-même a fait preuve dans ses étonnantes *Approximations*. M. Bertocci a possédé toutes ces qualités dans un degré suffisant pour nous donner une étude solide et sincère, subtile et nuancée. Son sujet présentait des difficultés particulières de ce que la critique de Du Bos, même considérée uniquement dans ses relations avec la littérature anglaise, réussit à mettre en jeu toute la gamme des sensations, des sentiments, voire des émotions, et engage d'une certaine façon toute son activité littéraire, philosophique et artistique. M. Bertocci a bien vu ce qu'il y avait d'illogique à détacher ainsi de l'œuvre si vaste de Du Bos ses considérations sur les auteurs anglais, et que ce procédé ne pouvait être justifié que par des raisons pratiques. Aussi bien n'a-t-il pas traité son sujet en vase clos, et puisque Du Bos a en fait constamment rattaché Pater, Shelley et Keats à Tolstoi, Stephan George et Goethe, M. Bertocci le suit autant qu'il est nécessaire dans ce réseau de relations dont il importait avant tout de tenir et de suivre le fil directeur.

La méthode, ou plutôt la tendance particulière de la critique de Du Bos entraîne M. Bertocci sur un terrain plus ardu. Il a dû, en effet, s'efforcer de pénétrer non seulement la matière de cette critique, mais ce qu'il y a au delà et au-dessus d'elle, et l'affecte toutefois, la motive, la dirige, ou seule-

ment l'incline. Chez les êtres d'une vie intérieure intense,—et Du Bos était certes un de ceux-là,—la réalisation critique, ou littéraire, n'épuise pas l'homme, ni ne l'exprime dans ce qu'il a précisément de plus personnel et de plus intime. L'idée réussit tant bien que mal à passer dans le verbe, mais l'ardeur, la ferveur, l'enivrement du contemplatif, et surtout cette exaltation intellectuelle bien plus secrète et plus noble que l'exaltation sentimentale restent réfractaires à toute expression. On les devine seulement dans la tension, et comme le gonflement de la phrase où l'on sent constamment la poussée de l'âme se heurtant à la barrière infranchissable des mots. Par des textes judicieusement choisis, par des exemples aussi, utilisant les confessions voilées de l'auteur lui-même, M. Bertocci découvre ce Du Bos-là, un Du Bos plus lointain, riche de richesses à peine soupçonnées.

La biographie de Du Bos ne présente, à l'exception de sa conversion, aucun événement saillant et M. Bertocci lui a rendu suffisamment justice dans un sommaire de quelques pages. C'est que la vie de Du Bos est avant tout intellectuelle et tient dans ses livres à peu près tout entière, de sorte que sa conversion elle-même est, à bien des égards, un phénomène littéraire. Préparée de longue date par sa rencontre avec Pater, indiquée par son incessante préoccupation du spirituel, on peut en suivre assez exactement, à travers l'œuvre critique autant que dans le *Journal*, la lente mais constante progression. M. Bertocci a bien senti et a dit avec beaucoup de justesse le rôle central et privilégié de cette conversion qui, à vrai dire, n'a transformé ni l'homme ni l'auteur mais a plutôt précisé et confirmé des tendances latentes. Ceci explique et sans doute justifie une méthode assez visible dans cette étude qui risquerait sans cela de paraître fautive en ce qu'elle se fonde surtout sur les déclarations et les jugements critiques de la période d'après la conversion, sur les *Approximations* parues après 1927 et sur les articles, bien moins parfaits, de *Vigile*. M. Bertocci a vu dans le Du Bos converti le Du Bos enfin authentique et achevé, qui, à l'issue d'une recherche passionnée datant de 1904, s'est enfin trouvé, s'est fixé dans le catholicisme, seul aboutissement logique de cette voie où une autre *anima naturaliter christiana*, Marius l'épicurien, s'était elle aussi engagée.

C'est ainsi que des deux éléments toujours, à des degrés divers, présents dans toute critique, l'appréciation objective de l'œuvre étudiée, et l'expression subjective et plus ou moins consciente du critique lui-même, c'est le second élément qui domine chez Du Bos. Dirigé, et comme porté vers ses sujets par un instinct sûr qui se confond précisément avec ce besoin d'expression, Du Bos se révèle dans chacune de ses appréciations critiques aussi clairement que dans son *Journal*. M. Bertocci a montré ce caractère très personnel de l'œuvre de Du Bos. Il a compris aussi, mais il n'a pas assez dit, les dangers inhérents à une telle méthode. Car, lorsqu'il croit pénétrer jusqu'au point le plus profond et le plus intime de son poète, ce sont trop souvent les constructions très subtiles de son propre esprit et les inspirations de son propre cœur que Du Bos saisit et exprime. De sorte qu'on se demande

souvent si ce sont Pater ou Shelley que le lecteur découvre à travers Du Bos, ou plutôt Du Bos à travers Shelley ou Pater.

Cette réflexion indique assez ce qui me paraît constituer une des faiblesses de cet ouvrage par ailleurs tout de probité, de science et de sagesse. C'est une attitude trop soumise, une acceptation trop facile, presque dévote, d'une critique qui demanderait d'être non seulement exposée, mais examinée sobrement, sans l'entraînement auquel je veux bien qu'elle porte mais dont il fallait se garder. M. Bertocci a voulu se parer en montrant les concordances de la critique de Du Bos avec les jugements proférés par d'autres critiques de renom. Il a passé légèrement sur les discordances, se contentant d'indiquer dans une note que Du Bos a rencontré des contradicteurs. Une critique conçue dans l'exaltation, une connaissance née d'une prise de conscience directe, même si elles sont préservées d'erreur majeure par l'exercice subséquent des facultés rationnelles, risque fort d'être sinon faussée, au moins inclinée par quelque illusion initiale. Du Bos n'a pas échappé à ces dangers. Son goût qui lui fait préférer Lamartine à Mallarmé, qui l'excite au même enthousiasme au sujet de Mme de Noailles et de Goethe, s'est égaré quelquefois. Elle a d'ailleurs aussi de singulières limitations cette critique qui ignore la Grèce presque tout entière, et de toute la littérature française jusqu'à Rousseau ne s'attache guère qu'à Montaigne et à Pascal.

En traitant les rapports de Du Bos avec la littérature anglaise, comme d'ailleurs avec toutes les autres littératures, d'importantes et nécessaires questions d'influence se posaient. Il ne semble pas que M. Bertocci ait assez mis en relief l'influence vraiment séminale de Bergson en l'assimilant à celle de Pater, dont l'action sur Du Bos, qui est considérable, est somme toute restreinte à la sphère religieuse. La pensée de Bergson, par contre, a modelé celle de Du Bos et a eu sur la formation de son esprit et le développement de sa méthode une influence que Gabriel Marcel appelle justement "la seule absolument positive." Certains lecteurs de M. Bertocci désireront aussi moins de complaisance pour le style et les images de Du Bos. Poursuivant l'impression esthétique jusqu'à l'extrême pointe de son retentissement en lui-même, Du Bos n'a pu le plus souvent l'exprimer que par des figures forcées et des alliances insolites de mots. Et on me permettra de l'admirer moins lorsque, par exemple, il rend l'essence d'un poème de Keats par cette curieuse comparaison de "l'attouchement d'une étoile par un fruit" (page 142). Cette "astronomical imagery" ne provoque chez M. Bertocci aucune révolte, et son admiration résiste à bien d'autres épreuves.

M. Bertocci n'a pas écrit un livre facile et son propre style se ressent des obscurités de son sujet. Plusieurs de ses phrases exigent une seconde lecture sans qu'on soit pour autant satisfait de l'avoir tout à fait compris. Ce n'est pas un Du Bos très net et bien campé qui émerge de cette étude. Mais précisément ce Du Bos simple et capable d'un portrait bien dessiné n'existe pas. Et ainsi celui que présente M. Bertocci, complexe et nuancé, est plus satisfaisant parce qu'il suit de plus près son modèle. M. Bertocci a suivi fidèlement Du Bos dans tous les méandres de sa pensée. Aussi ce livre

marque plus qu'un état de la littérature anglaise vue par Du Bos, mais bien l'état d'âme de Du Bos lui-même, que d'autres commentateurs sauront reconnaître et qu'ils n'auront nulle peine à étendre aux recherches du critique sur les autres littératures. Et il est peu probable que les nombreuses publications que la popularité croissante de Du Bos appellera sans doute modifieront ce jugement à peu près définitif que nous pouvons, dès à présent, et grâce à M. Bertocci, porter sur l'auteur disert et malgré tout exquis des *Approximations*.

FERNAND VIAL

Fordham University

*Manual de bibliografía de la literatura española.* By Homero Serís. Syracuse, New York, Centro de Estudios Hispánicos, 1948. Pp. xlii + 422.

This volume is only the first of seven, as the compiler informs us in his "Advertencia" (pages v-viii). There are three main sections: "Obras generales," "Obras bio-bibliográficas," and "Géneros literarios"; a fourth, "Cultura, arte y folklore," had to be omitted at the last moment because of difficulties in assembly, and will precede the second part. When finished, the whole promises to be a monumental accomplishment in the field of Spanish bibliography.

A list of abbreviations of the titles of periodicals and collections consulted occupies the first part of the book (pages ix-xliii); these, Professor Serís tells us, have been widely used in order to conserve space. In passing, one may remark that, contrary to frequent practice elsewhere, *BAE* stands for *Boletín de la Academia Española*, but that *NBAE* stands for *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*. The first was probably occasioned by the number of "Boletines" cited, but a question arises as to whether this may not result at first in some slight confusion for the user.

The bibliographer states that he has "... realizado una labor de cuidadosa selección y clasificación" (page viii) and that he directs the work primarily to students and young investigators for whose guidance he attempts frequently to cite critical judgments of important works or studies as well as to point out new fields of research (pages v-vi). There is even a section entitled "Metodología" which is subdivided into topics such as preparation of doctoral theses, textual criticism, paleography, etc. (pages 72-80).

In general, the proposed plan seems to have been followed consistently. In the first section, "Obras generales" (pages 2-17), which deals with general histories of Spanish literature, one is provided with a number of excerpts from reviews, which give the reader, in part, a critical bibliography. These criticisms, undoubtedly, show the most important merits or defects of the works; yet one wonders whether it is possible to be completely fair in such limited space. At this point, it may be well to note that a chronologi-

cal order for entries has been followed both in the over-all plan of the work and in the shorter subdivisions, except in the "Ediciones modernas" section of the "Cancioneros" (pages 249-270), where the entries are alphabetical. Since the lists are usually short and include many subtopics, the lack of alphabetical order does not pose a problem. When the general index, which is to accompany part seven, is available, certain difficulties of checking cross references or finding individual writers should be eliminated.

While the selective process used seems to include the most representative and recent publications, the reviewer wonders at times why one particular study has been chosen and another omitted. For example, under the heading "Bibliotecas" subheading "Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid," item 1527, "Schiff, M., *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, Paris, 1905," the famous collection of the Marqués de Santillana is duly noted, but no reference is made to the library of his illustrious contemporary, the Conde de Haro, which also forms part of the Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>1</sup>

The most valuable section of the *Primera Parte* is that on "Cancioneros" (pages 217-270), about which Professor Serís tells us: "Creemos que la presente es la bibliografía de cancioneros más extensa que se haya publicado hasta hoy. Aquí no cabe selección alguna. Todos son de un interés singular." (Page 217.) In a note he adds that Lang published data on twenty-seven *cancioneros*, Mussafia described about twenty, Hurtado y Palencia twenty-nine, etc.; he lists a total of 115 works of this nature. Since the reviewer had occasion recently to use this section of the bibliography quite extensively in studying still another XVth century *Cancionero* in manuscript, which belonged formerly to the First Count of Haro,<sup>2</sup> he can state that the material is most useful and greatly facilitates making one's way around in this complex genre.

There are, however, several items which call for additional comment. Number 2172 (page 288) deals with the *Cancionero de Llabia*. We are told that it is the "primer cancionero impreso, recopilado por Llabia. Libro rarísimo. El único ejemplar conocido se conserva en la Biblioteca Nacional de París, sig. Rés. Yg. 14." This is not a completely accurate statement since Konrad Haebler speaks of three other known editions of the work to be found in the Imperial Library of Vienna, the Escorial, and the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> The last is listed in the *Short Title Catalogue of Spanish Books before 1601* as IB 52163 (page 51). Nor is it necessarily the first printed *Cancionero*, for the *Cancionero de Fray Íñigo de Mendoza* was printed in 1480 or 1492 (Serís, no. 2178), and, according to Haebler, the *Cancionero de Montesino* was printed in Zamora ca. 1482. Professor Serís has only the

1. A. Paz y Melia, "Biblioteca fundada por el Conde de Haro en 1455," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 3ª serie, tomos I-XXI, 1897-1909.

2. At present in the possession of H. P. Kraus, New York.

3. *Bibliografía Ibérica del siglo XV*, Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann, 1903, (no. 387), p. 184.

reference "V. Montesino, Ambrosio," (no. 2328); it is to be supposed that the collected poems of this writer will be treated in the third part of the bibliography under *Edad Media*.

In keeping with his useful policy of indicating new fields of scholarly activity, the compiler has given a rather detailed section on "Estilística" (pages 398-409), in which we find several pages devoted to a discussion of this branch of investigation, the polemic between Spitzer and Bloomfield, and the intermediate position taken by D. Tomás Navarro.

Finally, in a brief section of "Adiciones" (pages 420-422), certain articles and works, both recent and old, which seem to be of more than passing interest have been added—for example, a series of articles by Andrés Bello on Ticknor's *Historia de la literatura española*, which was reprinted in *Obras completas*, Santiago de Chile, 1883, VI, 281-436 (156 pages). This was apparently a very careful and favorable review of Ticknor's history by a distinguished contemporary scholar. This statement gives a somewhat different picture of the critical reaction to Ticknor's work. Also included are publications as late as 1948, such as Ángel del Río's *Moralistas castellanos*, Buenos Aires, Clásicos Jackson.

We look forward to the appearance of the remaining volumes of this series, *Lengua*, *Edad Media*, *Siglos XVI y XVII*, *Siglo XVIII*, *Siglo XIX*, *Siglo XX suplemento e índices*. They should form a most useful work of reference and initial consultation in almost all fields of Spanish language and literature.

D. W. MCPHEETERS

Columbia University



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